

George Washington Papers, Series 3, Subseries 3H, Varick Transcripts, Letterbook 2

To WILLIAM A. LIVINGSTON

Morristown, January 2, 1780.

Sir: I have been favored with your letter of the 27th. of Decr last.⁹⁶

The motives for your return to your native country, are such as do honor to your sentiments and cannot fail to acquire the esteem of its citizens.

As you have been pleased to ask my opinion with regard to the propriety of cancelling your parole, and becoming a subject to these States, I will give it to you with candor. The going into New-York appears to me rather an unfortunate circumstance, as it served to encourage in the enemy the idea of a friendly disposition to them. Still however I have no doubt, but that the superior obligations you owe your native country should supersede any other consideration. The intention of your return would also be otherwise defeated.

I feel myself personally indebted for the manner in which you make an offer of your service. I am sorry that nothing presents itself in the line, which seems most agreeable to your wishes. But if any other situation occurs in which the circumstances of the service correspond with your inclination, I shall be happy to do anything in my power to promote it. I am, etc.⁹⁷

96. This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

97. The draft is in the writing of James McHenry and Alexander Hamilton.

***To MAJOR HENRY LEE**

Morristown, January 9, 1780.

Dear Lee: You will not forget that you owe me a horse or something in the shape of one, for the bay I turned into your Corps twelve Months ago. I am not in immediate want; But in some cases it is necessary to remind a Man of his debt lest he should forget his creditor. I do not apply this to you, because I am sincerely and Affectly Yrs.

***To COLONEL WALTER STEWART**

Morristown, January 14, 1780.

Dear Sir: My Nephew⁶³ (the bearer) has a great desire of participating in the present enterprize on Staten Island. I commit him to your care and beg you will make him useful to you, and see that he does his duty.

The detachment which at first was intended for seperate duties will now go wholly under your command and had better be divided into three equal divisions, 300 Men in each.

63. George Augustine Washington.

With cordial wishes for your success, honor and glory, I am etc.

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Morristown, January 15, 1780.

Dr. Sir: I sincerely regret that any circumstances should [render] it necessary for you to make use of Mr. Parson's house instead of⁷¹ Perseppeny. If you think a guard would give you security in your own [dwelling], I shall be happy to furnish you with one,⁷² and am, Dr Sir &c.⁷³

***To JOHN PARKE CUSTIS**

Morris-town, January 20, 1780.

Dear Custis: I should have acknowledged the receipt of your letter of the 12th. Ult. long since but for the many important matters which have claimed my attention.

71. At this point the draft has "your own at" crossed off.

72. On January 15 Livingston replied: "I am extremely obliged to your Excellency for your very kind and polite offer of a Guard for my Security at Perseppeny. But as I am pretty commodiously lodged

in my present Quarters, and so near my family as to have constant Intercourse with it, I cannot think of putting the men to that trouble for my sake. Agreeable to your Excellencys Invitation, I shall do myself the Honour of dining with you to morrow." Livingston's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

73. The draft is in the writing of James McHenry. The words in brackets are in the writing of Washington.

My letter which missed you on its passage to Williamsburg will acquaint you (as there is little doubt of its having got to hand long 'ere this) upon what footing I proposed to put the valuation of the Cattle you had of me. I only wished to hear upon what principle Colo. Bassett acted as I thought it ungentleel to give a Gentlemn the trouble of performing a service and disregard it so much afterwards as not even to enquire upon what ground he went. As I want nothing but justice and this being your aim, it is scarce possible for us to disagree, but there is one thing which ought to be held in remembrance and I mention it accordingly which is that I shou'd get no more *real* value for my Cattle at £40 a piece payable in the fall of 1779, than I shd have got at £10 the preceeding Fall provided the money had been then paid; for example you could have got two Barrels of Corn in 1778 for £10, and I can get no more now for £40. So with respect to other matters, it would be very hard therefore by keeping me out of the use of the money a year to reduce the debt three fourths of the original value, which is evidently the case because the difference between specie and Paper in the fall of 1778 was about four for one only, now the difference is upwards of 30, consequently Ten pds. paid at that period was equal to 50/good money but paid at this day is *not* worth, nor will it fetch more than a dollar. Had the money been paid and put into the Loan Office at the time you say the Cattle ought to

have been valued I should have received a proportionate interest, that is, as the money depreciated the nominal sum for the interest would by a resolve of Congress have increased and I should have got the real value in the interest whereas if you pay me ten pounds in loan office certificates of this date for my cattle I should receive for every £10 or 50/ (wch. was the relative worth of it according to the then difference of exchange) about one Dollar and no more.

These are self evident truths, and nothing in my opinion is more just and reasonable if you can come at, and fix the value of the Cattle at what they were worth in the fall of 1778 and would then have been appraised to, that you should pay loan office certificates of that date for had you paid me the money at that time I should have lent it to the public if it had not been applied to any other purpose as it is not a custom with me to keep money to look at.

This reasoning may, in part, be considered as an answer to so much of your letter of the 12th. of Decr. as relates to the payment of the annuity for the Dower Estate. You do not seem disposed

to make the just and proper distinction between real and nominal Sums. A Dollar is but a Dollar whether it passes in silver at Six shillings or in Paper at Six pounds, or Sixty pounds, the nominal value, or the name is but an empty sound, and you might as well attempt to pay me in Old News Papers and Almanacks with which I can

purchase nothing, as to give me paper money that has not a relative value to the Rent agreed on.

If you have been unfortunate in your Crops, or in the means of raising money from your Estate, I am sorry for it, and do not by any means wish to put you to an inconvenience in paying the Rent at this time which became due the first of this Month. It may lye till my wants, or your convenience, is greater; but as it was certainly the expectation of us both that this annuity was to be raised, and paid out of the produce of your Crops a moments reflection and calculation must convince you that it is full as easy to do it at this day if you have those Crops as at any period before or since the War began because the difference betwn. the old and present prices of every article raised upon a Plantn. or Farm bears at least an equal proportion to the difference between Specie and paper. It is a matter of little consequence then whether you pay £30 in paper, or 20/ in Specie, when the same quantity of Corn, Wheat, Tobo. or any other article you possess will fetch the former with more ease now than it would the latter in the best of times. The fact is, that the real difference between the prices of all kinds of Country produce now and before the War, is greater than between specie and paper, the latter in Phila. being abt. 30 when it is well known that the former in many things is at least 100 and in scarce any article less than 40. Witness, Flour, Wheat, Indn. Corn, &ca. which are the great articles of

produce of every Virginia Estate. It is the unusualness of the Idea, and high sound which alarms you in this business; for supposing the difference to be 30 prices and in consequence you pay £15,750 a year Rent I neither get, nor do you pay a farthing more than £525, because as I have already observed less Corn, Wheat, &ca. will enable you to pay the former now than it would take to pay the latter, while they were at their old and accustomed prices; calling the sum there fore which you pay me £15,750 or £525, is a matter of moon shine, as it is the thing, not the name, that is to be regarded.

I have wrote to Mr. Lund Washington concerning Sheridines point, but am in some doubt whether the quantity of Land will compensate the expence of the Bank, which must be lengthy. I have left it to him however to determine this matter and to apply for the Ditchers who were about to leave you if he should want them. If your banks are not properly executed it is to be feared that you will find more plague from the Muskrats and other Virmin than you seem to apprehend when the weather comes warm.

I am glad to hear that your Assembly were disposed to exert themselves in the great work of appreciation. I heartily wish them success in the attempt. We have nothing new in this quarter; the weather has been, and now is, intensely cold and we are beginning to emerge from the greatest distress on acct. of the want of provision we have ever felt.

My love to Nelly and the Children and I am, etc.

***To MAJOR GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE**

Morris-town, January 22, 1780.

Dear Sir: Appears. and facts must speak for themselves; to these I appeal. I have been at my prest. quarters since the 1st. day of Decr. and have not a Kitchen to Cook a Dinner in, altho' the Logs have been put together some considerable time by my own Guard; nor is there a place at this moment in which a servant can lodge with the smallest degree of comfort. Eighteen belonging to my family and all Mrs. Fords are crouded together in her Kitchen and scarce one of them able to speak for the colds they have caught.

I have repeatedly taken notice of this inconveniency to Majr. Gibbs, and have as often been told, that boards were not to be had. I acquiesced, and believe you will do me the justice to acknowledge that it never has been my practice to involve the public in any expence I could possibly avoid, or derive benefits which would be inconvenient or prejudicial to others. To share a common lot, and participate the

inconveniencies wch. the Army (from the peculiarity of our circumstances are obliged to undergo) has, with me, been a fundamental principle; and while I conceived this to be the case, universally, I was perfectly content; that it is not so, I appl. to your own observation; tho I never intended to make the remark, nor should I have done it, but for the question wh. involuntarily drew from me the answer, wch. has become the subject of your Letter.

Equally opposed is it to my wishes and expectation, that you should be troubled in matters respecting my accommodation, further than to give the necessary orders and furnish materials; without which orders are nugatory; from what you have said, I am fully satisfied that the persons to whom you entrusted the execution of the business are alone to blame; for certain I am, they might, by attention, have obtained (equally with others) as many boards as would have answered my purposes long 'ere this.

Far, very far is it from me, to censure any measure you have adopted for your own accommodation, or for the more immediate convenience of Mrs. Greene, at all times I think you are entitled to as good as circumstances will afford and in the present condition of your Lady conceive that no delay could be admitted. I shd. therefore with great willingness have made my conveniences yield to hers, if the point had lain there, being very sincerely Yr. etc.⁷

7. Greene's letter of explanation, to which Washington's letter is a reply, is dated Jan. 21, 1780, and is in the *Washington Papers*.

To ELBRIDGE GERRY

Head Quarters, Morris Town, January 29, 1780.

Dr. Sir: I received Your obliging Letter of the 12th. I am sorry to find that Congress had not at that time made any requisitions of Men from the States, as it appears to me that the Army without reinforcements, by the expiration of the enlistments of so many Men and of the service of the New Levies as they are called, will be much more reduced than will be compatible with our interest and policy. It was in part from the possibility that such an idea as the one you suggest to have mention in my Letter of the 18th of November, the essential difference between an Army on paper and its real efficient force, and to illustrate the point, by contracting the column of the present fit for duty in the Return transmitted, with that of the Total. The hopes indulged, from the beginning of the Contest to the present day from time to time, that a peace would soon take place, have been the source at least of great expense, and they may still prove so and the means of protracting the War. There is nothing so likely to produce peace as to be well prepared to meet an Enemy; and from this persuasion, and the effect you justly observe the contrary on our part might have on the mind of the Court of France and also on that of Spain, I think it would be right for us

to hold forth at least, every appearance of preparation and vigor, and really to do what our abilities and the circumstance of our finance may well justify. The latter I own is a most important consideration, but I cannot judge how far the state of it may or may not require retrenchment and a spirit of economy or indeed obtained with some, might take place, that I was induced to inactivity in our affairs. You will however perceive by a Letter to Congress of the 18th: by Baron Steuben, that I have again mentioned my opinion of the propriety of placing the Army on a more respectable footing than it will be at the opening the Campaign, without their interposition; and that I have offered the same in my Letter to You, Mr. Livingston and Mr. Matthews.

With respect to provision; the situation of the Army is comfortable at present on this head and I ardently pray that it may never be again as it has been of late. We were reduced to a most painful and delicate extremity; such as rendered the keeping of the Troops together a point of great doubt. The exertions of the Magistrates and Inhabitants of this State were great and chearful for our relief.

I have had my attention much engaged by a variety of pressing business and must rely on your indulgence to excuse an earlier acknowledgment of your Favour.⁷⁴ I am etc.⁷⁵

74. Gerry had written (January 12): "The Requisitions to the several States for Reinforcements to the Army, proposed in your letter of the 18th Novr. last, are not yet adopted by Congress; and a fresh Application from your Excellency, appears to me necessary for promoting that important Business. A Report has been long since made on the Subject, and been several Times under the Consideration of Congress, but an Opinion has been lately suggested, and I fear with too much Effect, 'that the Number of Men inlisted for the War is already sufficient, and that Reinforcements are not necessary for the Army in this quarter.' Should this Sentiment prevail, or the Requisition be much longer delayed, We shall probably lay the Foundation of an inactive Campaign, if not of greater Misfortune; and renew the Uneasiness of the Court of France, who last year remonstrated in very friendly, but *expressive* Terms, against the Delays of our military preparation for that Campaign. As the Measures of our good Ally for the Establishment of our Independence, as well as those of the common Enemy against it, are prosecuted with the greatest Vigor, it appears to me that We are urged by every principle of policy, Generosity, and Honor, to be equally vigorous and decisive," Gerry's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

75. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

***To PHILIP SCHUYLER**

Hd. Qrs., Morris town, January 30, 1780.

My dear Sir: Your fair daughter,⁷⁶ for whose visit Mrs. Washington and myself are greatly obliged, did me the hour. to present your favor of the Instt,⁷⁷ for which and the several useful hints (if it should be in my power to extend my views to St. Johns) contained in it, you have my hearty thanks. To the several matters for investigation, mentioned in my letter of the 25th. Ulto, permit me to add a further inquiry into the place and manner of securing the enemys Vessels on lake Champlain. this is become essential from accidental information recd. the other day which, though not delivered

as authentic, has at least the semblance of truth; it is that the enemy during the frost scuttle and sink their Vessels under the Guns of St. Johns. Should this be the fact there is not an object to compensate the fatigue, hardships, and risks to which troops must be exposed in such an enterprize (if other matters shd. answer) nor could I stand justified for exposing them to these, or the public to the expence, which would arise from the expedition.

I am perfectly in sentiment with you respecting the policy of making friends of those Indians we have lately Chastised and all others, and of the expediency of doing

76. Catherine Schuyler.

77. Not now found in the *Washington Papers*.

it at this time. The hour of victory, we are informed by Lord North is the time for negotiation. That hour so far as they are concerned is come, and it would be wrong, in my judgment, to force them, irrecoverably, into the Arms of the enemy. To compel a people to remain in a state of desperation and keep them at enmity with Us, when no good is to be expected from it and much evil may follow, is playing with the whole game against Us. If any security therefore can be had of their Aid (if circumstances should require it), or neutrality under all circumstances, we should, by being rid of a dangerous and distressing Foe (which they certainly are) be relieved of a heavy expence, and acquire more freedom to our Arms in other quarters, and, which is a consideration of no small weight, must embarrass the enemy not a little in the field; the cabinet, and at negotiation if matters come to this.

How far my good Sir would it be practicable if the Indians should be disposed to more than a neutrality, either by themselves or with the aid of a few Men in disguise, to seize the Fortress of Niagara? a proof like this, of returning friendship, would be interesting and masterly; but from the numbers adequate to the execution of such a plan who must be brought acquainted with the scheme it, more than probably wd. be known to the Eney. and of course be defeated. Next to this, would it be possible to surprise it ourselves, without their aid (or with the assistance of a few trusty guides only before the frost breaks up) by a rapid movement of an adequate number of

Men in sleds from Fort Schuyler? The enterprize, more than probably, would be very unexpected, and consequently likely, on that account to succeed if the Wood Creek, Onondago River, and border of the lake Ontario were in such a state as not to impede the progress of Slaies with proper degree of rapidity.

If there are obstacles in the way of either of these projects which may seem too difficult to be surmounted, cannot some successful attempt be made by a detachment from the garrison at Fort

Schuyler. The Indians, or a party of both, on the Vessels in lake Ontario which are, I believe, usually laid up at buck Island?

I need not tell you that these are crude, undigested thoughts; thrown out more with a view of learning your sentiments of them, than as the result of deliberate thinking. If you should hold a treaty, or have a meeting with the Indians such information may be derived from the most intelligent of them, as to shew how practicable either of the projects here mentioned is.

There is no doubt but that Lake Champlain is sufficiently closed; but how long may we expect it to continue so? Will the Snow be any impediment to the Passage of Slaies to St. Johns? Is it known whether the borders of Lake Ontario (especially the hither side wch. is the most exposed to the boisterous Winds) are ever so frozen as to admit a passage

for Slaies? What may be the difficulties of getting from Fort Schuyler to Oswego?

Since the date of my last we have had the virtue and patience of the Army put to the severest trial. Sometimes it has been 5 or Six days together without bread. at other times as many days without meat, and once or twice two or three days without either. I hardly thought it possible, at one period, that we should be able to keep it together, nor could it have been done but for the exertions of the Magistrates in the several Counties of this State, on whom I was obliged to call; expose our situation to them, and in plain terms declare that we were reduced to the alternative of disbanding or catering for ourselves, unless the Inhts. would afford us their aid. I allotted to each County a certn. proportion of flour or grain, and a certain number of Cattle, to be delivered on certain days, and for the honor of the Magistrates and good disposition of the people I must add that my requisitions were punctually complied with and in many Counties exceeded. Nothing but this great exertion could have saved the army from dissolution, or starving; as we were bereft of every hope from the Commissaries. at one time the Soldiers eat every kind of horse food but Hay. Buck Wheat, common wheat, Rye, and Indn. Corn was the composition of the Meal which made their bread. As an Army they bore it with a most heroic patience; but sufferings like these accompanied by the want of Cloathes, Blankets &c. will

produce frequent desertions in all Armies and so it happened with us tho' it did not excite a single mutiny.

I hope your advice to Colo. Van Schaick respecting the diminution of Horses has had the desired effect, otherwise I shall follow it by an order. I strictly enjoined this upon General Heath at the Highland Posts and Genl. Poor at Danbury; and made it a first object with the main army the moment I got to this ground; the necessity of it being apparent.

I furnished Mr. Van Ranselaer with a flag to convey a Letter to New York requesting leave to go in which was a necessary compliance with the rules of the enemy. No answer is yet receivd but every aid on my part shall be given to comply with your request when it is.

I have the pleasure to inform you that Miss Schuyler is well as you will probably learn from her own pen as she has promised to give me a letter to put under my cover to you. Mrs. Washington and the Gentn. of my family join in best respects and good wishes and I am, etc.

To SILAS CONDUCT

Hd Qrs, Morris-town, February 1, 1780.

Sir: I am much indebted to you for your obliging letter, and the concern you express for my personal safety.⁸⁸ The apprehensions you have are very naturally suggested by my present situation, rather remote from the army; but as the possibility of such an attempt as you mention had occurred to me, precautions, which I think will be effectual, have been used to guard against it. So far from the hint you have given requiring any apology, it is a proof of your regard which has a claim to my [warmest] acknowledgments. With very great esteem etc.⁸⁹

To ROBERT MORRIS

Morris-Town, February 4, 1780.

Dear Sir: I have received, and I thank you, for your favor of the 1st. Instt. Almost at the same instant of its arrival a letter from Messrs. Hewes Smith and Allan¹⁵

88. Conduct had written (January 31) from Morristown: "they do not want for Malicious Interprizing Guides, well acquainted with every Road And Safe passage to and from hence, the possibility of a party of Horse coming here undiscovered I cannot doubt." Conduct's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

89. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton. The word in brackets was added by Washington, and the date line is in his writing.

15. Merchants of Edenton, N. C.

was put into my hands giving an acct. of the safe arrival of the Wine¹⁶ (mentioned by you) at Edenton; and of their having confided it to the care of Mr. Turnbull¹⁷ (at his own earnest request) to be conveyed to me.

Should it arrive in good order I shall be able to give my friends a glass of such as I cd. wish and if you will do me the favor to partake of it at Morris town, I shall be happy. It is upon these occasions only I wish for, and feel the want of it; having, so far as my own gratifications are interested, resolved to be equally contented with grog should it even be made of N. E. Rum, and drank out of a wooden Bowl, as the case has been.

Mrs. Washington very cordially joins me in a testification of gratitude for the kind assurances given by Mrs. Morris and yourself of making Philadelphia agreeable to us, if we should incline to visit it in the course of this long and severe winter. If other matters were in as favourable a train for relaxation of this kind as my own inclination, I should need no importunity; but public duty, and Social enjoyments, are so much at variance that I have little expectation of indulging in the latter while I am under ties of the former. Perhaps when the one ceases, I may be incapable of the other.

My respectful compliments., in which Mrs. Washington joins, is offered to your Lady and with sincere esteem etc.

16. The wine came from Teneriffe.

17. William Turnbull.

***To BARON STEUBEN**

Morris-town, February 7, 1780.

My dear Baron: In a letter which I have been favoured with from his Excellency the Chevalier. De la Luzerne I am led to expect the honor of his Company. at Camp in the course of this Month.

As it is my wish to accommodate him in the best manner circumstances will admit of (which at best as you well know will be bad enough) and to pay him every respect due to his high rank and Station I shall thank you for previous notice of the time of his setting out.

I need not add how pleas'd I should be to see you with him if it can be made to comport with your present engagements at Philadelphia.

The inclosed letter you will make use of when occasion requires, with sincere personal esteem etc.

To JOSEPH REED

Morris-town, February 15, 1780.

Sir: I am much indebted to your Excellency for announcing my election as a member of the Philosophical society.¹⁹ I feel myself particularly honored by this relation to a society whose successful efforts for [promoting] useful knowledge have already justly acquired them the highest reputation in the literary world. I entreat you to present my warmest acknowledgments, and to assure them that I shall with zeal embrace every opportunity of seconding their laudable views and manifesting the exalted sense I have of the institution. The arts and sciences essential to the prosperity of the state and to the ornament and happiness of human life have a primary claim to the encouragement of every lover of his country and of mankind. With the greatest respect etc.²⁰

***To LIEUTENANT COLONEL MARINUS WILLETT**

Morris-town, February 22, 1780.

Sir: I have received your letter of the 18th.

19. The American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia. Washington was elected a member Jan. 19, 1780. His membership certificate, in the *Washington Papers*, is dated Mar. 22, 1780.

20. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton. The date line, address, and the word in brackets are in the writing of Washington.

Secresy in the business you have been requested to put in train is so essentially necessary that those who are willing to embark in it may rest assured that not even a whisper shall be heard from hence.

It is to be presumed that every circumspection and caution that the case will admit of will be used to prevent a discovery of any of the agents; but if, notwithstanding, the one at Secaucus should be

suspected and prosecuted, I must, in behalf of the public, stand between him and the consequences of a prosecution. It may not be amiss however to observe, by way of caution, that the great pursuit of those who heretofore have been employed in this business, is traffic, and this being carried on with avidity the end for wch. they were engaged was defeated, because suspicions on our part, and a desire of rendering themselves useful to the enemy, to accomplish with more ease their own lucrative plans, gave a turn to the business which operated much to our prejudice.

I do not know how easy it may be for the agent at Secaucus to obtain free access to the Intelligencer at New-York; but it is absolutely necessary he should. It is the hinge on which the whole turns and without it, nothing can be done to effect. Hence, is it not necessary to have a person on the No. River, at or near Bergen town, who can, at all times, have equal access to the City and Secaucus unsuspected? Is it not necessary also to have some person between

Second River and head Quarters? These matters you will consider, and determine on. I need not add that the fewer hands a business of this sort is in, the better it will be executed, and less risk there is of a discovery.

Verbal accts. in passing through several hands, and some heads which may not be very clear, are liable to such transmutation as serve to confound and perplex rather than inform; for this reason the Agent in New-York should give all his intelligence in writing which may be done fully and with security (even if the letters should fall into the hands of the enemy) in the manner I shall hereafter communicate. His Letters may be addressed to the Agent at second River, or any other (more proper) person, if one can be thought of; but whether he will write in his own name, or under an assumed one, must be left to himself to determine when he comes to understand the mode for communicating the intelligence.

The persons intermediate between him and me (serving as mere vehicles of conveyance) will know nothing of the contents, consequently the avenues leading to a discovery of the person in New York (who should be shielded on all sides) will be much lessened and guarded.

The compensation for these services had better be fixed, beforehand, because loose agreements are seldom rewarded to the mutual satisfaction of both parties. I shall

be glad to see you to morrow morning that I may have some further conversation with you on this subject. With esteem etc.

To COLONEL JOSEPH WARD

Head Quarters, Morristown, March 2, 1780.

Dr. Sir: I am to acknowledge your letter of the 29th. of February last.

The favorable sentiments of a good man, and one who has executed diligently and faithfully the duties of his station, cannot fail being agreeable. I thank you for your good wishes; and mine, be assured, towards you, are not less sincere for your happiness [and prosperity. in whatever walk of life you may go into.] I am, etc.²³

***To FIELDING LEWIS**

Head Quarters, Morris-town, March 2, 1780.

Dear Sir: Before Colo. Fairfax left Virginia he

23. The draft is in the writing of James McHenry. The words in brackets are in the writing of Washington.

prevailed on me to accept a power of attorney for the general superintendence of his business in that State. Upon my appointment to the command of the American Army I wrote him that it was no longer in my power to do justice to the trust he had reposed in me and begged him to make choice of some other for this purpose. this request I repeated in several letters but never obtained an answer till lately. He now desires that I wd. prevail on Mr. Nicholas, yourself, or some other Gentn. of character to do him this favor. I have already wrote to Mr. Nicholas on this subject and shall be glad in case of his refusal to know if you will undertake the business as I believe his Steward, Collector of Rents, and seat at Belvoir, stand much in need of the superintending eye of some person that will see justice done him.

An Answer to this Letter as soon as possible will much oblige Dr. Sir, Yr., etc.

***To LORD STIRLING**

Morris-town, March 5, 1780.

(Private)

My Lord: I have read the orders wch. you had

framed for your division; they are certainly good, but in substance except in a very few insts. are very explicitly enjoined by the regulations; and have been reiterated at different periods in the general orders antecedent to the promulgation of the established "Regulations for the order and discipline of the Troops;" and since, in many particular ones, by a reference to them; as your Lordship may perceive by recurring to the orderly book.

At our last interview I slightly touched on this subject, but I shall embrace the present occasion to repeat more fully, that orders, unless they are followed by close attention to the performance of them, are of little avail. They are read by some, only heard of by others, and inaccurately attended to by all, whilst by a few, they are totally disregarded, and this will for ever be the case till the principal Officers of the Army begin the work of reformation by a close inspection into the police; the conduct of the Officers and men under their respective commands. and will endeavr. to restore public œconomy, and saving than wch. nothing can bettr. suit our prest. Circums.

Example whether it be good or bad has a powerful influence, and the higher in Rank the Officer is who sets it, the more striking it is; hence, and from all military experience it has been found necessary, for Officers of every denomination to inspect narrowly the conduct of such parts of the Army and Corps as are committed to their care; without this the regulations "for the order and discipline of the Troops," established by the highest

authority and wch. are short simple and easy in the performe. and the General orders will be little attended to; of course neglect of discipline, want of order, irregularity, waste, abuse, and embezzlement of public property, insensibly creep in it is idle to suppose under a descriptn, like this the ground for wch none I believe will deny that a division, Brigade or Regimental Order, will have greater weight than those of Congress or the Genl; but if the Persons issuing them would devote, as duty indispensably requires, a reasonable portion of their time to a personal and close inspection into the affairs of their respective commands, would frequently parade their Regiments and compare the actual strength of them, their Arms, Accoutrements and Cloaths, with the returns; and have the deficiencies (if any there be) satisfactorily accounted for and provided, agreeably to the establishment of the Army; would see that the regulations, the general orders and their own, were carried into execution where practicable, or report the causes of failure when they cannot. That all returns are made in due form, in proper time, and correctly; comparing one return with another in order to prevent mistakes, correct abuses, and do justice to the public; and that in visiting such parts of the line, and such particular Corps as are entrusted to their care praise is bestowed on the deserving, reprehension, and (where necessary) punishment on the negligent, the good effect

would be almost instantaneously felt; frequent visits and inspection into matters of this kind would produce

more real good in one month than volumes of the best digested Orders that the wit of man can devise wd. accomplish in Seven years.

Were it not for the infinity of perplexing business that is refered to, and comes before me from every quarter; the multiplicity of Letters and papers I have to read and consider, many of which originate in the want of application and due attention being given by the Genl. Officers to their respective commands, which bring a variety of applications to head Qers. that ought to be settled in the respective lines I shd. devote much more of my time to the Military parts of my duty. unhappily while necessity with-holds me from these attentions [a want of being sufficiently impressed with its importance or some other cause]³⁶ operates with equal force on others; and the few rides I am able to make to the Camp, and the hours wch. I can devote to the business of the line; never fail producing mortifying proofs of inattention and relaxation of discipline. The Country, in all my excursions I find spread over with Soldiers, notwithstanding the pointed orders which have been Issued to restrain them and to discountenance a practice wch. has been found pregnant of desertion, Robbery, and even murders, and as totally repugnant to every principle of discipline and the Rules laid down for our governmt.

This My Lord is a free and friendly representn. of facts. your letter drew it from *me to you*

36. The words in brackets were interpolated by Hamilton, after crossing off Washington's composition, which now cannot be deciphered.

at this time; but I shall take occasion so soon as the Genl. Officers Assemble to require in explicit terms from them a conduct conformable to these sentimts. in future. for without it there is no possibility in the present perplexity of Affairs and the divided attention I am obliged to give to numberless objects wch press upon me to move the Military Machine with any degree of propriety without their assistance, with much esteem etc.

***To MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE**

Head Quarters, Morristown, March 18, 1780.

My dear Marqs: Your polite and obliging letter of the 10th. of Octr. from Havre came to my hands since the beging. of this month. It filled me with a pleasure intermixed with pain. To hear that you

were well, to find you breathing the same affectione. sentiments that ever have most conspicuously, markd your conduct towards me and that you continued to deliver them with unabated attachmt. contributes greatly to my happiness. On the other hand, to hear that not one of the many letters which I have written to you since you left this Continent had arrived safe was not only surprizing but mortifying, notwithstanding you have the goodness to acct. for it on its true principles. With much truth I can assure you, that besides the Letter which ought to have been delivered you at Boston (containing such testimonials of your merit and services as I thought a tribute justly due from me) and which was dispatched soon after it returned to me, I wrote you two or three times between that and the opening of the Campaign in June. In the Month of July I wrote you a long letter from New Windsor. About the first of Sepr. I addressed you again; the last of the same Month, after I had been favoured with yr. affectionate letter by the Chevr. de la Luzerne, I wrote you a very long letter to go by Monsr. Gerard;

and some time in October I again wrote to you by Monsr. de la Colombe, Copys of all which, to the best of my recollection, have been duely forwarded; it is a little unfortunate then that out of the whole I should not be able to get one of them safe.¹⁴

I have been thus particular My dear friend that in case there should be the least suspicion of my want of friendship or want of attention, it may be totally removed; as it is my earnest wish to convince you by every testimony that an affectionate regard can dictate, of my sincere attachment to your person, and fortunes.

For the copy of your letter to Congress, and the several pieces of intelligence which you did me the favor to transmit, you will be pleased to accept my warmest thanks. our eyes are now turned to Europe; the manœuvres of the field, long 'ere this, must have yielded to those of the cabinet, and I hope G. Britn. will be as much foiled in her management of the latter as she has been in the former. her having formed no Alliances, nor been able to contract for more foreign troops, exhibits interesting proofs of it; which are not a little enlivened by the dispositions of the People of Ireland; who feel the importance of a critical moment to shake off those badges of Slavery they have so long worn.¹⁵

Since my last, a Detachment (if it can be called a detachment where the Commander in chief of an army is) consisting of the Grenrs. and light Infantry and some

14. This letter of March 18 suffered the same fate of not reaching Lafayette. He sailed from France for America before the end of March.

15. See General Orders, Mar. 16, 1780.

other chosen corps, amounting in the whole to between five and 6000 Men, embarkd for Georgia. The 26th. of Decr. they left Sandy hook under Convoy of 5 Ships of the line and several frigates commanded by Admiral Arbuthnot. Generl. Clinton and Lord Cornwallis went with them. We have accts. that part of this fleet had arrived at Savanna (in Georgia); that it suffered very considerably in the stormy weather that followed their Sailing, in which there is good reason to believe that most of their Horses were thrown over board, and that some of their ships foundered. indeed we are not without reports that many of the Transports were driven to the West Indies; how far these accts are to be credited I shall not undertake to determine, but certain it is, the fleet has been much dispersed and their operations considerably delayed, if not deranged, by the tempestuous weather they had to encounter during the whole month of January. The enemy, that they might bend their operations more forceably to the Southward, and at the same time leave New York and its dependancies sufficiently garrisoned have withdrawn their troops from Rhode Island.

As the enemys intentions of operating in the Southern States began to unfd. I began to detach Troops to their aid, accordingly in Novr. the North Carolina Brigade took up its march for Charles-town, and were followed abt. the middle of Deer. by the Troops of Virginia; but the extreme cold, the deep Snows, and other

impediments have retarded the progress of their march very considerable. The oldest people now living in this Country do not remember so hard a Winter as the one we are now emerging from. In a word, the severity of the frost exceeded anything of the kind that had ever been experienced in this climate before. I beg leave to make a tender of my best respects to Madre. La Fayette, and to offer fresh assurances, of being with sentiments of great and sincere friendship etc.

***To JOHN MITCHELL**

Head Quarters, Morris-town, March 20, 1780.

Dr. Sir: You will do me a favour by enquiring, and letting me know as soon as possible, if any good Coachmaker in Phila. or German Town (Bringhurst²³ for instance) will engage to make me a genteel plain Chariot with neat Harness for four horses to go with two postilions. I wish to know the terms and in how short a time it can be done. I also beg to know if the harness could be soon had without the carriage.

That the Workmen may be at no loss

23. George Bringhurst, Philadelphia coachmaker.

to fix a just price on these things on Acct. of the fluctuating, and uncertain state of our Curry. he may make his estimates in Specie which shall either be paid him immediately upon delivery of the Work, or in paper money at the difference of exchange then prevailing, be it little or much; this will put the matter upon so clear and unequivocal a footing that he can be at no loss in fixing prices, nor be under the smallest inducement to ask an enormous price in order to gd. against the evil consequences of depreciation.

You will do me a favr. by answering this letter speedily as I have particular reasons for requesting it. I am etc.

P.S. I must beg the favr. of you to enquire further, whether Nails and other kind of mounting, and trimmings, necessary to the lining and finishing of a Chariot could be had in any of the Shops, or from any of the Coachmakers in Phila. There is a good workman at Springfield (in this State) but he has not this kind of furniture by him necessary to compleat a chariot.²⁴

24. Mitchell answered (March 25) that "a Neat Genteel Chariot which is near finished," could be procured with the harness, in two or three weeks. "The price is Two Hundred and Ten pounds in Gold or the Value thereof in Current money." He believed this was as cheap as a chariot could be obtained or made. Mitchell's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

***To PHILIP SCHUYLER**

Head Quarters, Morris-town, March 22, 1780.

Dear Sir: Your favor of the 7th. of this Instt. did not come to my hand before 9 o'clock last Night. It was accompanied by such a multitude of other letters (many of which required immediate attention) that it is not in my power, by General Greene, who sets out for Philadelphia in the morning, to give it such a perfect answer and approbation as I could wish; nor can I, on the other hand, consent to his departure without acknowledging of it, and thanking you for the trouble you have taken.

Our affairs seem to be urging so fast to a stagnation, in every branch, even provisions, that I have not only consented, but advised Genl. Greene, as I shall do the Commissary when he arrives, to repair

to Philadelphia and endeavour to know with precision, what is to be depended on in their respective departments.

The new system³¹ adopted by Congress for conducting the business of these departments may have originated from two causes, necessity, and choice; the first from inability (for want of money) to proceed any further in the old track. The second from a desire to change the old system on acct. of the Commission, it being thought and I fear with too much

31. What is known as "Specific Supplies." (See *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Feb. 25, 1780.)

reason) exceedingly expensive, and disgusting to the People at large. Under these ideas and impressions, I am embarrassed, and cautious of saying any thing on the subject, further than to give it as my opinion, that whatever System is adopted, it should be made as perfect as the nature of the thing will admit of. That this is not the case in many instances with the present one is obvious, as must appear to you upon a comparative view of the Plan, movements, and wants of an Army. In some instances, if literally adhered to, ruin must follow.

I will embrace the first kind moment I have to write you more fully, in the mean time I pray you to be assured that I am, with every sentiment of the most perfect esteem etc.

***To MAJOR GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE**

Head Quarters, Morris-town, March 26, 1780.

Dr. Sir: I have, by this conveyance, written to Congress on the defects of the new system for supplyg. the army.

I shall thank you for the News and politic's of the Town. particularly on the subject of finance

(wch. I think evy. one ought to support) and the prevailing sentiment respecting our Southern Affairs. The currt. opinion of sensible men, on the propriety and practicability of affording further succour to Genl. Lincoln from this army, under the present circumstances of it, and other matters, is what I wish much to learn; the situation of our affairs in South Carola. impresses me with many fears on acct. of Charles town and with deep concern at the effect which the loss of it may produce on the minds of People in that quarter.

It is my earnest wish that to the Sentiments of others you would add those of your own, in full and explicit terms. I shall, I believe, ask this of the other Genl. Officers.

Mrs. Green gave us the pleasure of her company yesterday and is well. I am &c.

***To JOHN MITCHELL**

Head Quarters, Morris-town, March 30, 1780.

Dr Sir: Your Letter of the 25th did not come to my hands till yesterday afternoon.

I will take the Chariot at the price of

Two hundred and ten pounds in gold, provided you have examined it yourself with a critical eye or will get some good judge or judges to do it and they shall be of opinion that it is made in the present taste, well fashioned, composed of seasoned wood well put together. and also that it either has, or is to have a proper lining &ca. My reason for being so particular I shall mention; some days ago I was told of an elegant chariot of exquisite workmanship belonging to Capt. Kennedy⁹⁶ that was for sale; I got a Gentn. in the neighbourhood to view it, who made so favourable a report, that I sent down to buy it, when upon a second inspection (or the Inspection of a second Gentn.) it was found to be so old fashioned and uncouth that the Gentn. did not incline to take it. I wish you had mentioned the makers name of the one offered you; if it is a common sale Chariot, and the workman does not stand much upon his character it may be of little worth from the slightness of it.

It will not be in my power to insure payment in less time than It would take me to draw the money from my own home in Virginia which by the common chances of conveyance I could not, with certainty fix at less than 8 weeks from the receipt of your notice of its want. If it does not suit the workman to wait so long, and you could borrow that much Specie I will engage to replace it with interest in the time.

96. Capt. Archibald Kennedy, loyalist.

In case you should purchase please to have my Arms and crest properly dispos'd of on the chariot. I send them for this purpose. I am etc.

P S. Mr. Tilghman tells me that Genl. Dickenson if in town and would be so obliging as to take the trouble would be an excellent judge of the Chariot in its prest. state and director with respect to the finish of it. In doing wch neatly and in taste I should not begrudge adding to the price fixed.

***To PHILIP SCHUYLER**

Head Quarters, Morris-town, March 31, 1780.

My dear Sir: I was about to fulfil the promise made to you in my last, of writing fully on the subject of your letter of the

¹²Instt. and other matters, when your obliging favr. of the 22d. came to hand. The hint contained in it was too seasonable and striking for me not to derive a lesson of use from it. I shall therefore, as there is danger attending written communications of private Sentimts. and my letters to the body of which you are a member will convey every occurrence and information of a public nature within my sphere of action

12. March 7. This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

Schuyler had written (March 22); "Communications on paper are more exposed from, than to the Army, It may therefore be proper for Characters In particular Situations not to be particular unless where there is the Greatest Certainty of safety In the Conveyance. I mention this least You should attend from your politeness to more than I Expect, a bare Acknowledgment that a letter has been received will Suffice the *friend*." Schuyler's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

content myself with acknowledging and thanking you for the letters you may do me the favor to write.¹³

I am much indebted to you for your communications from the Southward. I feel many anxious moments on acct. of the Carolinas which are increased by the daily diminution of our force in this quarter; the little prospect of getting it augmented in time to answer any valuable purpose, and other obvious embarrassments.

We are now beginning to experience the fatal consequences of the policy which delayed calling upon the States for their quota of Men to a period when they ought to have been joined, that there might have been time for arranging and preparing them for the duties of the field. What to do for

the Southern States without involving consequences equally alarming in this quarter I know not. The enemy are certainly preparing for another embarkation (from present appearances of abt. 2500 men) but as I expect a more particular acct. of this matter by tomorrow I shall defer writing to Congress till then. With the most sincere regard and Affectn. I am etc.

13. Schuyler's letter (March 22) had given Washington a brief outline of the action of Congress in a proposed reorganization of the Quartermaster General's Department. His reply (April 5) to the above letter from Washington, continued the report: "There has been some wicked work respecting a Certain appointment which Gen. Greene will advise you of. The Gentleman I have last mentioned addressed Congress in a letter of the 3d Inst. wishing for their Sense on his General Conduct in the Q Master department; a Resolution was proposed, that Congress had full Confidence In his Integrity And Ability, and requesting his future exertions; this brought on much debate. Amendments were moved, and the house got into heats, and an adjournment was deemed necessary to give the Members time to Cool. A member more zealous for the Generals reputation than prudent, Observed that he was an officer In whom the Commander in Chief had the highest Confidence. That he was the first of all the Subordinate Generals In point of Military knowledge and ability, that in case of an accident happening to Gen: Washington he would be the properest person to Command the Army, *And that General Washington thought so too* another observed that he had a very high Opinion of G. Greens Military Abilities, that he believed the General had too, but that he believed no person on Earth was Authorized to say as much as the words above scored, Implied. I mention this that your Ex: may guard against any Misapprehensions which this may Occasion with Your Officers. Gen: Greene will Inform you who delivered the Imprudent Speech." Schuyler's letter is in the Washington Papers.

A contemporary copy of the report of the Commissioners (Timothy Pickering and Thomas Mifflin) appointed by Congress to arrange the Quartermaster Department, under the new scheme of "Specific Supplies ", is found in the *Washington Papers*, under date of Mar. 27, 1780. It is printed in the *Journals of the Continental Congress* of that date.

In the *Washington Papers*, also, is a six-page folio brief of this report, entirely in Washington's writing, referring to the pages of the manuscript copy by number, and commenting upon the provisions of the report in the following instances: "Page 12. The occasional provision for the March of Troops, Detachmts., Parties &ca. out of the Rout of the Magazines is so slow and tedeous in its operation that the end of every march must be defeated. 13. The mode of paying for it too is equally exceptionable. 14. One Quarter of a Cord of Wood for 60 Men including Officers and 20 lbs of Straw: is not this too small? 15. One Qr. Mr. Genl., One Dy. for the main Army and for each separate Army. The Q M. G. and each of his Dys. to be allowed one Clerk. Is this sufft.? When one or more Regts. March a Captn. to be appd. by the Q M. G. to do the Duty of Q. M. pro tempore and reed. pay for

it. Why confind to a Cap.?... 22. Q. M. G. to collect all Horss. Wagns. and Teams by the Opening of the Campaign and apply to the Bd. of War for the defy. who is to employ one or more Persons to purchase them. N B This is making other persons (after travelling through two or three Stages) do what the Qr, Mr. should do in the first Inste.... 24. Allowance of Waggon in some instances are two small.... 26. No Horses belonging to the United States shall be allowed to officers for Ridg. or Batt. Horses but in lieu thereof shall be paid in Spanish Milled Dollars or &ca. equivalent. To a P. M, Adj., Q M. each Dollars. To a Field Cons. of M: S. Dollars. To a Conductor of Baggage and P. Waggon dollars. To a Prot. Ml. Dollars. NB. Why an allowance to these and not to other Officers?" [The table of rations allowed the officers, page 26, has the following note:] "NB Many of these allowances are too low. ... 29.... For sudden demands of Horses the Q. M. G. or his D. or offr. Comg. Detacht. New levies or &ca to hire or Contract for Teams. As this may not be accomplished; It is recommended to the States to pass Laws to aid. NB. While this is doing, and under these circumstances Detachmts. &ca. will be unable to move. and every end and design of detaching will be defeated.... 37. Such of them as are carried into the field shall be undr. the care of field Comy. who shall keep the Acct. of them Timber Boards and other articles wch. are to be found in the vicinity of the Army to be provided by a Contractor to be appd. for that purpose by the Qt. M G and Comg. Offr. of Artillery out of the Offrs. of the Artillery Artificers or Q. Mrs. Artificers who shall supply both departments, agreeably to orders from Hds. of them Money's for these Contracts to be drawn from the Military Chest on the appr. of the Q. M. G and Comg. Offr. of Artilly. respectively. The Acct. to be examined by once [sic] in every three months. NB. It is difficult to see into the policy or æconomy of this."

***To JOHN MITCHELL**

Morris-town, April 8, 1780.

Dr. Sir: Your letter of the 4th. did not reach this place till late last Night; some particular engagements this morning prevented my attending to the contts. of it and when I came to enquire for the Express in the afternoon behold! he was gone; the Gentn. in the Office viewing him in the light of a common Express asking as usual for Phila. dispatches of wch. there were none ready dismissed him; this is the cause of his returning without my answer.

From your description of the two Chariots I prefer that wch. is in the hands of Mr. Brinkhurst on acct. of the size although it will take longer time to finish it. I shall thank you therefore for engaging it for me, for requesting dispatch, and when convenient for yr. attending a little to the execution. The painting I hope will be well done, and in a tasty stile with respect to color (in wch. I have no particular choice) Though I prefer a plain Chariot it may not be amiss to Ornament the Mouldings with a light

airy gilding; this will add little to the expence and much to the appearance. The Harness I would have stout and strong, at the same time neatly made, Ornamented and of good leather.

By the last Post I wrote to Mr. Lund

Washington respecting Specie but the Workman will meet with no disappointment, although there should be a little delay in my receiving it from home.⁹⁰ The pocket money wch. Mrs Washington has, and some I can borrow here, added to what you are kind enough to offer, will enable me to pay the full sum at any hour even if I should not receive the needful from home by the time the Chariot is ready for delivery.

The Several Articles from Don Juan came safe. the Mop, Jug, and Jarrs are, it seems, left somewhere on the road. If it is for an Earthen, or Queens ware bowl the 180 Dollars is asked, I shall decline the purchase for I think it is high time to check such extravagance. I am etc.

To SIR JAMES JAY

Head Quarters, Morristown, April 9, 1780.

Dear Sir: The liquid with which you were so obliging as to furnish me for the purpose of private correspondence is exhausted; and as I have found it very useful, I take the liberty to request you will favour me with a further

90. In Conway's *George Washington and Mount Vernon (Memoirs of the Long Island Historical Society, Brooklyn, 1889)*, vol IV, p. lxxix, is an extract of Washington's letter (Apr. 15, 1780) to Lund Washington respecting this payment, as follows:

"I have ordered a chariot to be made in Phila. The price £210 in specie, or Paper equivalent, have you any ways or means of coming at the former by your traffic with Mr. Hooe or other? The difference between specie and Paper in Phila. some little time ago was 60 or 70, I have heard it is now 50, but if you could engage the first, that is specie, by your produce I should think it much more eligible than to do it with Paper, not only because the latter is so fluctuating but because it must (in the nature of things) grow better if it continues to pass. ...Things in this quarter are nearly in the situation as when I last wrote. Mrs. Washington joins me in best wishes to you and yrs."

supply. I have still a sufficiency of the materials for the counterparts on hand. Should you not have by you the necessary ingredients, if they are to be procured at any of the Hospitals within your reach,

I would wish you to apply for them in my name. I hope you will excuse the trouble I give you on this occasion.⁹³ With great regard etc.⁹⁴

To JAMES BOWDOIN

Morris Town, [April 26,] 1780.

Sir: I am much obliged to you for your favour of the 6th instant transmitting me a copy of the plan proposed for the constitution of your state. I have not yet had leisure to give it an attentive consideration, but from a cursory view it appears to me to be a very judicious one, and to possess all the requisites towards securing the liberty and happiness of individuals, and at the same time giving energy to the administration. This last indeed is essential to the former, though unfortunately in some of our constitutions it has not been sufficiently consulted. It is of great importance that a state

93. Jay replied (April 13): "I have the honor of yours of the 9th. instant and I do myself the pleasure to send you the medicine you desire, in a little box, which I hope you will receive with this letter. I wish I could furnish you with a greater quantity, because I am afraid you may be too sparing of the little you will receive; whereas you might perhaps derive greater benefit from it, were it to be used more frequently. This little however is all that remains of what I brought with me from Europe. I have now the principal ingredients for the composition by me, and the rest may be procured: but the misfortune is, that I have no place where a little apparatus may be erected for preparing it. The composition requires some assistance from Chemistry; and out house is so small, and so well inhabited, that there is not a corner left where a little brick furnace, which a Mason could build in two hours time, can be placed. A log hut for the purpose might be soon run up, but it is also out of my power to effect this, Neither bricks, boards nor lime are to be purchased here, nor a Carpenter nor Mason to be had without great difficulty, if at all. I beg you will not infer from hence that I would rather decline the undertaking. So far from that being the case, if you shall think it worth while, and will only direct Col. Hay to furnish the workman, and other requisites, I shall soon have the satisfaction of sending you such a supply that you may not only use it freely yourself, but even spare a little to a friend, if necessary, without the apprehension of future want." Jay's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

94. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

which is of so much weight in the union as that of Massachusetts, should have a well combined and vigorous government, and nothing will give me greater pleasure than to learn that the people have adopted one which answers this description.

Accept my thanks for your communication of the advice from Mr. Adams.²² It corresponds with my expectations; though very little with our circumstances. It is devoutly to be wished this Campaign may be the last. I have the honor etc.²³

***To LIEUTENANT COLONEL JOHN LAURENS**

Head Quarters, Morris-town, April 26, 1780.

My dear Laurens: I have received your letters of the 14th. Feby and 14th. of March, and am much obliged to you for the Military details they contain. I sincerely lament that your prospects are not better than they are. The impracticability of defending the bar, I fear, amounts to the loss of the town and garrison. At this distance it is difficult to judge for you, and I have the greatest confidence in General Lincolns prudence; but

22. "By a Letter in January from our Peace-Ambassador Mr. Adams, so far as he then had the means of judging, he did not expect to have any thing to do in the business of his department, at least for this year: so that another Campaign seems unavoidable."— *Bowdoin to Washington*, Apr. 6, 1780. Bowdoin's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

23. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

it really appears to me that the propriety of attempting to defend the Town depended on the probability of defending the bar, and that when this ceased the attempt ought to have been relinquished. In this however I suspend a definitive judgment, and wish you to consider what I say as confidential. Since your last to me I have received one from General Lincoln of the 24th. of March, in which he informs me that the enemy had gotten a Sixty four gun ship with a number of other Vessels over the bar and that it had been determined to abandon the project of disputing the passage by Sullivans Island, and to draw up the Frigates to the Town and take out their Cannon. This brings your affairs nearer to a dangerous crisis, and increases my apprehensions.

You will have learnt from General Lincoln that a second detachment had sailed from New York the 7th. Instt., supposed to be destined to reinforce Sir Henry Clinton. I have not yet ascertained all the

particular Corps, but know that the 42d., the Irish Volunteers, Queens Rangers, and some foreign Troops are of the number, and have every reason to believe the total is what I mentioned to him, from 2000 to 2500. They appeared a few days since off Chesapeake bay, but immediately continued their voyage.

I have just received an acct. of the arrival of 47 Transports the 24th. Instt. at New York from South Carolina, and that there were strong Symptoms of another

embarkation. This circumstance is to me not of easy explanation. I should imagine that Sir Henry Clinton's present force was equal to his object, and that he would not require more. The garrison of New York and its dependencies, at this time, cannot much exceed 8000 Men; a number barely sufficient for its defence; and not with propriety admitting a diminution. Perhaps however, counting upon our weakness, the enemy may determine to hazard something here, the more effectually to prosecute and secure conquest to the Southward; or perhaps he may only intend to detach a force for a temporary diversion in Virginia or No. Carolina, to return afterwards to New-York. I expect more certain advice to day, and should it confirm the first, any demonstrations it may be in our power to make to retard or prevent the embarkation shall be put in practice; but unfortunately we have very little in our power.

In both your letters you express a wish that I should come to the Southward. Though I cannot flatter myself with the advantages you look for from such a step, yet if it were proposed by Congress I confess to you I should not dislike the journey, did our affairs in this quarter permit it. But unluckily the great departments of the Army are now in total confusion and Congress have just appointed a Committee in conjunction with me to new model and rectifie them. Till this is done I could not leave this Army. And were not this obstacle in the way you will easily conceive I must have many

scruples which forbid me to let the measure in question originate with me. But all this for your private ear.

Be assured my dear Laurens that I am extremely sensible to the expressions of your attachment, and that I feel all for you in your present situation which the warmest friendship can dictate. I am confidant you will do your duty and in doing it you must run great hazards. May success attend you, and restore you with fresh laurels to your friends, to your Country, and to me. With every sentiment of regard and Affection. I am &c.

[H.S.P.]

To GOVERNOR DIEGO JOSÉ DE NAVARRO⁵³

Head Quarters, Morris Town, April 30, 1780.

Sir: I am extremely sorry to communicate to your Excellency. the painful intelligence of the death of Don Juan De Mirailles. This unfortunate event happened at my quarters the day before yesterday and his remains were yesterday interred, with all the respect due to his character and merit. He did me the honor of a visit in company with the minister of France, and was seized the day of his arrival with a violent biliary complaint, which after nine days continuance, put a period to

53. Don Diego José de Navarro. He was Governor and Captain-General of Cuba.

his life, notwithstanding all the efforts of the most skilful physicians we were able to procure. Your Excellency will have the goodness to believe that I took pleasure in performing every friendly office to him during his illness and that no care or attention in our power was omitted towards his comfort or restoration. I the more sincerely sympathize with you in the loss of so estimable a friend, as ever since his residence with us, I have been happy in ranking him among the number of mine. It must however be some-consolation to his connections, to know that in this country he has been universally esteemed and will be universally regretted.

May I request the favour of your Excellency to present my respects to the lady and family of our deceased friend and to assure them how much I participate in their afflictions on this melancholy occasion? I have the honor etc.⁵⁴

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL ALEXANDER HAMILTON

Head Quarters, Morris Town, May 2, 1780.

Dear sir: The inclosed Letter of the 1st. of March I

54. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

received some time ago from Doctor Gordon,⁵⁷ which a variety of pressing business has prevented me from communicating before. I request your determination on the points contained in it, that I

may transmit it to the Doctor. You will be pleased to return me his Letter with the inclosure to which it refers.⁵⁸ I am etc.⁵⁹

***To BARON STEUBEN**

Morris Town, May 2, 1780.

My dear Baron: My Nephew⁶⁰ waits on you to present his thanks for the honor you meant to confer on him, by appointing him one of your Aids; and, at the sametime to assign his reasons for declining the favor. If he should not be explicit in doing this, when I next have the pleasure of seeing you at head Quarters, I shall not fail to do it myself.

Be assured my dear Sir, that I shall entertain a proper sense of the honor you intended my Nephew, and the compliment I should have received thereby, and that I am etc.⁶¹

57. Rev. William Gordon. His letter, dated Feb. 29-Mar. 1, 1780, is in the *Washington Papers*.

58. The charge against Hamilton was that of making a seditious remark in a Philadelphia coffee house, to the effect that it was high time the people rose, joined General Washington, and turned Congress out. Hamilton's letter to Washington (May 2), in the *Alexander Hamilton Papers* in the Library of Congress, disposed of Gordon in the following words: "I shall not follow him in his labored digressions, because the scope of some of them is to me unintelligible and the rest do not merit an answer."

59. The draft is in the writing of George Augustine Washington.

60. George Augustine Washington.

61. The text is from a photostat of the original kindly furnished by Judge E. A. Armstrong, of Princeton, N. J.

To REVEREND WILLIAM GORDON

Head Quarters, Morris Town, May 3, 1780.

Dear Sir: I received some time ago Your Letter of the 29th. of February and 1st. of March by Colo. Henley. From a multiplicity of important pressing business which I have had on hand, I was prevented from communicating it to Colo. Hamilton till Yesterday. It was then put into his hands, as you will perceive by the Inclosures No 1 and 2, a Copy of my Letter to him upon the occasion and his Answer. While I must ascribe it to your politeness, I regret that the consideration of Colo Hamilton's being a member of my family should have been a motive for bringing so disagreeable a business before me. The Gentlemen attached to me are upon the same footing with the other Officers of the Army and equally responsible for their conduct. You will pursue such a mode in the present case as You deem most effectual, but if you should think proper to exhibit any charge against Colo Hamilton cognizable by a military tribunal, you have only to signify your wish and the time You will be able to produce your witnesses, and I shall proceed in it accordingly.

As far as the temper and disposition of the several Courts of Europe are developed, and known to *Us*, the assisting of G Britn. does not appr. to be an object with them; and yet, if we are to form a judgment from report, and

indeed from appearances, the King and his Ministers are firmly resolved to prosecute the War in America with unabating vigour, depending, it is to be presumed, upon the wretched state of our money, more than they do on the expectation of foreign aid. If the plan of finance, adopted by Congress, should receive that general support which the exigency of the times loudly call for, and which I hope, and trust, it will not fail to do from every well wisher to his Country, I believe the foundation on which the enemy have superstructed their plans will give way and leave the contrivers and authors of the present mischief to that punishment wch. an injured and deceived people are ready to inflict and which the populace of England as well as Ireland seem now to be preparing. For this purpe. a spirit is gone forth, and is now manifesting itself I hope undr. the appo. of Associatn. Comes. &ca. that it may also be the harbinger of Peace to this distressed Country, I most fervently wish.⁶⁴

For your good wishes, you will please to accept my sincere thanks.

My best respects, in which Mrs. Washington joins, are presented to Mrs. Gordon; and compliments. to all enquiring frds. I am etc.⁶⁵

64. On this same day (May 3) Germain wrote Sir Henry Clinton respecting the British Ministry's attitude at this time: "All the private Letters from the Rebel Countries are filled with representations of the general Distress and Sufferings of the People. The Discontents of the Troops, and the universal Wish for Peace. The middle Provinces are said to be so disinclined to support the Congress,

that no Recruits are to be had, and the Militia will not submit to be drafted. Their only Resource for continuing the War, seemed to be a foreign Aid, which however has not yet been sent to them, and therefore I flatter myself you will have met but little interruption in your progress northward, after the Reduction of Charles Town; and that you will have sufficient time to execute your plan in the Chesapeake, or at least to establish yourself there beyond the power of any force that can be brought to dislodge you."

65. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The portion in brackets is in the writing of Washington.

***To DAVID FINNEY⁷³**

Morris-Town, May 5, 1780.

Sir: Your obliging favor of the 4th. Ulto. accompanying a few yards of exceeding fine and well wrought Dimety, came safe to hand.

As it is offered, you are pleased to tell me, in testimony of the esteem you entertain for me, I accept it; and shall wear it as a memento of the perfection to which manufactures of this kind are brought, and of the little occasion there is of depending upon any other Country for such convenient and handsome cloth, the manufacturing of which, in the instance before us, exhibits at one view an interesting proof of your industry and art.⁷⁴

My acknowledgments and thanks for the benefit I derive from both, and your politeness, are gratefully offered; and I am etc.

***To MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE**

Morris-town, May 8, 1780.

My dr. Marqs: Your welcome favour of the 27th. of April

73. One of the justices of Newcastle County, Del.

74. The dimity was manufactured in Finney's family.

came to my hands yesterday. I received it with all the joy that the sincerest friendship could dictate, and with that impatience which an ardent desire to see you could not fail to inspire.

I am sorry I do not know your rout through the State of New York, that I might, with certainty, send a small party of Horse (all I have at this place) to meet and escort you safely through the Tory settlements between this and the North River.

At all events, Majr. Gibbs will go as far as Pompton (where the roads unite) to meet you, and will proceed from thence as circumstances may direct, either towards Kings-ferry or New Windsor.

I most sincerely congratulate with you on your safe arrival in America and shall embrace you with all the warmth of an affectionate friend when you come to head Qrs. where a bed is prepared for you. adieu till we meet. Yrs.

***To JAMES DUANE**

Morris-town, May 13, 1780.

Dear Sir: Your favors of the 4th and 9th. came

safe to hand. I thank you very sincerely for the several articles of Intellie. contained in them; and shall be happy, at all times, to hear from you when any thing occurs worthy of the moments wch. must be spent in the communication.

My hearty wishes attend your endeavours to accomplish the confederation.³⁰ It is certainly a most desirable event for us, and a much dreaded one by the enemy. The spirit wch. seems to have gone forth in England must, methinks, exceedingly embarrass the measures of Administration, and give proportionate aid to our cause. this, or some other accts. by the last Packet, has, undoubtedly, produced dejected countenances in New York. The advice boat that brought them not being able to proceed with the dispatches for Sir Henry Clinton in the instt. of her arrival another was ordered, and Sailed immediately for Charles Town with them. The Tories you may depend on it are much alarm'd.

I am exceedingly anxious for the fate of Charles Town. more so for the Garrison and the accumulated Stores in it; but much rejoiced, and indeed relieved, at hearing that the Govr. and part of his Council had left the City for the purpose of supporting legal Govt. in the State at large.

I am sorry to hear of Huger³¹ misfortune., on many accts., an Officer may be beaten and yet obtain honor, but disgrace must for ever accompany surprizes.

30. "I am ... much engaged in another attempt to get the Confederation accomplished which in my Opinion would fully compensate for the temporary Loss of any City on the Continent; it gives me great pleasure to assure your Excellency that the Delegates from Virginia are warmly disposed to give it all the Aid in their power: Indeed, have the fullest Expectation that our Joint Exertions will Succeed: and the future Safety and Tranquility of the States be fixed on a permanent Basis, Without a Federal Alliance peace, itself, Independence, and Security from external Assaults, would scarcely deserve the Name of a Blessing." — *Duane to Washington*, May 4, 1780. Duane's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

31. Brig. Gen. Isaac Huger. "Our Cavalry under General Huger was surprised by the Enemy and sustained the Loss of 20 men and 30 Horses: That this Success enabled the Enemy to head Cooper River, and take post on the North side, and that it will eventually compleat the blockade of the Town." — *Duane to Washington*, May 9, 1780. Duane's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

The want of money is much to be regretted. The consequences may be fatal from causes too many and too obvious to stand in need of enumeration. I am pleased however to hear that the several States from whence accts. are recd. have either adopted, or are about to adopt the scheme of finance recommended by Congress.³² I am clearly in sentiment with you, that it ought to be supported although it may be, in some respects, exceptionable.

The arrival of Messrs. Jay and Gerard³³ is a pleasing event, as is that of the Marqs. de la fayette in this Country. he is now here, a little indisposed with a cold, but will proceed on to Congress tomorrow or next day. Mrs. Washington and the Gentn. of my family join their best wishes, most cordially with mine to these you will permit me to add my grateful acknowledgments, and warmest thanks, for your friendly and polite assurances of regard, and to declare at the same time that with much esteem, and personal attachment. I am etc.

P S. I have recd. fresh, and authentic Intelligence that the enemy are in great consternation at New York. They are going to run lines of defence from the East to the No. River; are throwing up new Works at the Narrows, and have a number of Vessels laden with Stone to sink and obstruct the entrance

32. See *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Mar. 18, 1780, for the plan of an impost of 1 per cent on all imports and exports.

33. They landed at Cadiz, Jan. 22, 1780.

of the harbour. Two advice Boats were sent from N.Y. within the space of 48 hours after the arrival of the dispatches from England to Sir Hy. Clinton &ca. &ca.

To JAMES DUANE

Morris Town, May 14, 1780.

Dr. Sir: The arrival of the Marquis de La Fayette ...

may defeat the project.³⁸ ... I need not enlarge ...

38. At this point the draft, which is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton, has the following crossed off: "and their concurrence in particular points may tend to give our military operations a degree of boldness which they might otherwise want."

wish above all things he may be appointed. I have also a very favourable opinion of Mr. Mathews' understanding and integrity, and I should be willing to trust every thing to the goodness of the other's intentions, if I had not some doubts of his discretion.³⁹ I wish the Chancellor⁴⁰ or yourself could be in the appointment. A well composed committee ...⁴¹

***To THE BOARD OF TREASURY**

Morris-Town, May 14, 1780.

Gentn: Sometime last spring, or early in the Summer,

39. Nathaniel Peabody.

40. Robert R. Livingston.

41. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton. The omitted portions are identical with Washington's letter to Joseph Jones, May 14, 1780, *q. v.*

Congress were pleased to authorise me to draw upon the Board of Treasury for a Sum in Specie not exceeding two thousand Guineas.

As it was not my wish to call for more than the exigencies of the particular Service (for which it was intended) required; and as I happened at that time to have part of a former sum by me, I asked for 500 Gs. only with that sum I have made a shift till this time but now have a call for the further Sum of 500 Gs., if it can be furnished the bearer Mr. Geo: Washington⁴² will receive and bring it to Gentn. Yr.

***To PHILIP SCHUYLER**

Morris Town, May 21, 1780.

My dear Sir: Your opinion on the foregoing quæries,¹³ and on such other matters as relates to the business which is unfolding and wch requires the closest attention under our circumstances will be thankfully received by Yr. etc.

QUÆRIES

Supposing the enemy to continue in their present divided state; where can they be attacked to the greatest advantage? and in what manner can we operate most effectually against them?

Is not that part of their Army and shipping which is at the Southward more exposed and liable to a more certain blow, than the other part which is at New York, where there is uncertainty of getting into the harbour, and where works surrounding the City are already established for its defence, and every

42. George Augustine Washington.

13. This autograph draft follows the "Quæries," but for mechanical convenience it here precedes them.

possible exertion using to increase and strengthen them?

What danger, for want of secure harbours for Ships of the line, would the French Fleet be involved in on the Carolina Coast? What difficulties should we have to encounter in getting there, with the necessary apparatus, Provisions &ca? And how could we be supported when there, in case an enterprize of this kind should otherwise be thought eligible.

Supposing again, the Enemy to form a junction of their force at New-York; what is practicable to be done in that case? And what measures had best be pursued in consequence?

Again, let us suppose the enemy to have succeeded at Charles Town. That they have captured the Garrison employed in defence of it. That they mean to leave a sufficient Force in the States of So. Carolina and Georgia to hold the Towns of Chas. Town and Savanna without aiming at any thing more in that quarter, at present. And the rest arrived at New York; what is best for us to do in that case?

In a word, my wish is, to have *our* situation, and that of the *enemy*, considered in all the points of view they can be placed, and the most advantageous plan of operation proposed for each.

What force in aid of the French Army and Continental Troops, will it be necessary to call upon the States for, in case of an operation against New York? (— To answer this

question, it is necessary to premise, that in New York and its dependencies, there are at least 8,000 regular Troops besides about 4,000 Refugees and Militia; how many of the latter (when matters become serious) can be brought to act is more than I can tell. At the Southward there are about 7,000 Regular Troops under the immediate command of Sr. Henry Clinton.

Supposing the enemy to continue in the divided state they are at present, and New York (the Troops in it I mean) should be our object, how far with perfect safety would it be practicable to let the French Troops act seperately on long Island if it should be judged expedient to attack the Town by a combined operation in that Quarter, and from York Island at the same time?

Where had the French best establish their Hospitals, and deposit their heavy stores?

Under a full view of all circumstances what position is most eligible for the American Army to take previous to the arrival of the french fleet and Army? And when shd. it be taken?¹⁴

14. Schuyler's reply to the queries is in the *Washington Papers*, under date of May 28, 1780, which is the date on which he began his reply. It is 18 folio pages in length and dated at the end July 7, before which date Washington could not have received it.

To PRESIDENT JOSEPH REED

Morris Town, May 28, 1780.

Dear Sir: I am much obliged to you for your favour of the 23. Nothing could be more necessary than the aid given by your state towards supplying us with provision. I assure you, every Idea you can form of our distresses, will fall short of the reality. There is such a combination of circumstances to exhaust the patience of the soldiery that it begins at length to be worn out and we see in every line of the army, the most serious features of mutiny and sedition. All our departments, all our operations are at a stand, and unless a system very different from that which has for a long time prevailed, be immediately adopted throughout the states our affairs must soon become desperate beyond the possibility of recovery. If you were on the spot my Dear Sir, if you could see what difficulties surround us on every side, how unable we are to administer to the most ordinary calls of the service, you would be convinced that these expressions are not too strong, and that we have every thing to dread. Indeed I have almost ceased to hope. The country in general is in such a state of insensibility and indifference to its interests, that I dare not flatter myself with any change for the better.

The Committee of Congress in their late address to the several states have given a just picture of our situation.

I very much doubt its making the desired impression, and if it does not I shall consider our lethargy as incurable. The present juncture is so interesting that if it does not produce correspondent exertions, it will be a proof that motives of honor public good and even self preservation have lost their influence upon our minds. This is a decisive moment; one of the most [I will go further and say *the most*]⁶⁸ important America has seen. The Court of France has made a glorious effort for our deliverance, and if we disappoint its intentions by our supineness we must become contemptible in the eyes of all mankind; nor can we after that venture to confide that our allies will persist in an attempt to establish what it will appear we want inclination or ability to assist them in.

Every view of our own circumstances ought to determine us to the most vigorous efforts; but there are considerations of another kind that should have equal weight. The combined fleets of France

and Spain last year were greatly superior of those of the enemy: The enemy nevertheless sustained no material damage, and at the close of the campaign have given a very important blow to our allies. This campaign the difference between the fleets from every account I have been able to collect will be inconsiderable, indeed it is far from clear that there will not be an equality. What are we to expect will be the case if there should be another campaign? In all probability the advantage will be on the side of the English and then what would become of America? We ought

68. The words in brackets are in the writing of Washington.

not to deceive ourselves. The maritime resources of Great Britain are more substantial and real than those of France and Spain united. Her commerce is more extensive than that of both her rivals; and it is an axiom that the nation which has the most extensive commerce will always have the most powerful marine. Were this argument less convincing the fact speaks for itself; her progress in the course of the last year is an incontestible proof.

It is true France in a manner created a Fleet in a very short space and this may mislead us in the judgment we form of her naval abilities. But if they bore any comparison with those of great Britain how comes it to pass, that with all the force of Spain added she has lost so much ground in so short a time, as now to have scarcely a superiority. We should consider what was done by France as a violent and unnatural effort of the government, which for want of sufficient foundation, cannot continue to operate proportionable effects.

In modern wars the longest purse must chiefly determine the event. I fear that of the enemy will be found to be so. Though the government is deeply in debt and of course poor, the nation is rich and their riches afford a fund which will not be easily exhausted. Besides, their system of public credit is such that it is capable of greater exertions than that of any other nation. Speculatists have been a long time foretelling its downfall, but we see no symptoms of the catastrophe being very near. I am persuaded it will at least last out the war, and

then, in the opinion of many of the best politicians it will be a national advantage. If the war should terminate successfully the crown will have acquired such influence and power that it may attempt any thing, and a bankruptcy will probably be made the ladder to climb to absolute authority. Administration may perhaps wish to drive matters to this issue; at any rate they will not be restrained by an apprehension of it from forcing the resources of the state. It will promote their present purposes on which their all is at stake and it may pave the way to triumph more effectually over the constitution. With this disposition I have no doubt that ample means will be found to prosecute the war with the greatest vigor.

France is in a very different position. The abilities of her present Financier have done wonders. By a wise administration of the revenues aided by advantageous loans he has avoided the necessity of additional taxes. But I am well informed, if the war continues another campaign he will be obliged to have recourse to the taxes usual in time of war which are very heavy, and which the people of France are not in a condition to endure for any duration. When this necessity commences France makes war on ruinous terms; and England from her individual wealth will find much greater facility in supplying her exigencies.

Spain derives great wealth from her mines, but not so great as is generally imagined. Of late years the profits

to government is essentially diminished. Commerce and industry are the best mines of a nation; both which are wanting to her. I am told her treasury is far from being so well filled as we have flattered ourselves. She is also much divided on the propriety of the war. There is a strong party against it. The temper of the nation is too sluggish to admit of great exertions, and tho' the Courts of the two kingdoms are closely linked together, there never has been in any of their wars a perfect harmony of measures, nor has it been the case in this; which has already been no small detriment to the common cause.

I mention these things to show that the circumstances of our allies as well as our own call for peace; to obtain which we must make one great effort this campaign. The present instance of the friendship of the Court of France is attended with every circumstance that can render it important and agreeable; that can interest our gratitude or fire our emulation. If we do our duty we may even hope to make the campaign decisive on this Continent. But we must do our duty in earnest, or disgrace and ruin will attend us. I am sincere in declaring a full persuasion, that the succor will be fatal to us if our measures are not adequate to the emergency.

Now my Dear Sir, I must observe to you, that much will depend on the State of Pennsylvania. She has it in her power to contribute without comparison more to our success than any other state; in the two essential articles

of flour and transportation. New York, Jersey, Pennsylvania and Maryland are our flour countries: Virginia went little on this article the last crop [and her resources are call'd for to the southward]. New York by legislative coercion has already given all she could spare for the use of the army. Her inhabitants are left with scarcely a sufficiency for their own subsistence. Jersey from being so long the place of the army's residence is equally exhausted. Maryland has made great exertions; but she can still do something more. Delaware may contribute handsomely in proportion to her extent.

But Pennsylvania is our chief dependence. From every information I can obtain she is at this time full of flour. I speak to you in the language of frankness and as a friend. I do not mean to make any insinuations unfavorable to the state. I am aware of the embarrassments the government labours under, from the open opposition of one party and the underhand intrigues of another. I know that with the best dispositions to promote the public service, you have been obliged to move with circumspection. But this is a time to hazard and to take a tone of energy and decision. All parties but the disaffected will acquiesce in the necessity and give their support. The hopes and fears of the people at large may be acted upon in such a manner as to make them approve and second your views.

The matter is reduced to a point. Either Pennsylvania must give us all the aid we ask of her, or we can

undertake nothing. We must renounce every idea of cooperation, and must confess to our allies that we look wholly to them for our safety. This will be a state of humiliation and bitterness against which the feelings of every good American ought to revolt. Your's I am convinced will; nor have I the least doubt that you will employ all your influence to animate the Legislature and the people at large. The fate of these states hangs upon it. God grant we may be properly impressed with the consequences.

I wish the Legislature could be engaged to vest the executive with plenipotentiary powers. I should then expect every thing practicable from your abilities and zeal. This is not a time for formality or ceremony. The crisis in every point of view is extraordinary and extraordinary expedients are necessary. [I am decided in this opinion.]⁶⁹

I am happy to hear that you have a prospect of complying with the requisitions of Congress for specific supplies; that the spirit of the city and state seems to revive and the warmth of party decline. These are good omens of our success. Perhaps this is the proper period to unite.

I am obliged to you for the renewal of your assurances of personal regard; my sentiments for you, you are so well acquainted with as to make it unnecessary to tell you with how much esteem etc.

69. The words in brackets are in the writing of Washington.

"The State of Pennsylvania has it in her power to give great relief in the present crisis, and a recent act of its Legislature shews, they are determined to make the most of it. I understand they have invested the Executive with a dictatorial Authority from which nothing but the lives of their Citizens are exempted. I hope the good resulting from it will be such as to compensate for the risk of the

precedent.”— *Madison to Jefferson*, June 2, 1780. Madison's letter is in the Madison Papers in the *Library of Congress*.

Reed answered Washington's letter (June 5): “We have at length got in Motion and I hope shall be able to get a Supply of Stores for the Summer, but the Shock Paper Money has received subjects all our Resources to the Caprice of interested or perverse Individuals, more than is consistent with our Safety or Honor.... The Representation of the Distress for Want of Meat produced an immediate Exertion, of which I hope the Benefit must be felt by this time.” Reed's letter is in the *Washington Papers*. The Pennsylvania Legislature passed an act, June 1, 1780, for procuring an immediate supply of provisions for the Continental Army in its present exigency.

I felicitate you on the increase of your family. Mrs. Washington does the same and begs her particular respects and congratulations to Mrs. Reed, to which permit me to add mine.⁷⁰

***To JOSEPH JONES⁹³**

Morris-Town, May 31, 1780.

Dear Sir: I have been honored with your favor in answer to my letter respecting the appointment of a Comee.; and with two others of later date. the last containing Genl. Woodfords acct. of the situation of things at Charles Town at the time of his writing. I thank you for them all. Unhappily that place (Chs. Town), the garrison in it, &ca. (As appears by the New York account which I have transmitted to Congress) have been in the enemys hands since the 12th. Instt.

Certain I am that unless Congress speaks in a more decisive tone; unless they are vested with powers by the several States competent to the great purposes of War, or assume them as matter of right; and they, and the states respectively, act with more energy than they hitherto have done, that our Cause is lost. We can no longer drudge on in the old way. By ill-timing the adoption of measures, by delays in the execution of them, or by unwarrantable jealousies, we incur enormous

70. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

93. Delegate to the Continental Congress from Virginia.

expences, and derive no benefit from them. One state will comply with a requisition of Congress, another neglects to do it. a third executes it by halves, and all differ either in the manner, the matter, or so much in point of time, that we are always working up hill, and ever shall be (while such a

system as the present one, or rather want of one prevails) unable to apply our strength or resources to any advantage.

This my dear Sir is plain language to a member of Congress; but it is the language of truth and friendship. It is the result of long thinking, close application, and strict observation. I see one head gradually changing into thirteen. I see one Army branching into thirteen; and instead of looking up to Congress as the supreme controuling power of the united States, are considering themselves as dependent on their respective States. In a word, I see the powers of Congress declining too fast for the consequence and respect which is due to them as the grand representative body of America, and am fearful of the consequences of it.

Till your letter of the 23d. came to hand I thought General Weedon had actually resigned his Commission; but be this as it may, I see no possibility of giving him any command out of the line of his own State. He certainly knows that every state that has Troops enough to form a Brigade claims, and has exercised, uniformly, the previledge of having them commanded by a Brigr. of its own, nor is it in my power to depart from

this system without convulsing the Army; which at all times is hurtful, and may be ruinous at this. I am, etc.⁹⁴

To JAMES DUANE

Head Quarters, Morris Town, June 5, 1780.

Dear Sir: I had the pleasure to receive your [favr] of the 21st: May in due time. You must be good enough to attribute my not answering it sooner to the real cause; a hurry of other business. I had been twice before applied to for my opinion on the propriety of promoting Capt. McLean. The last was thro' the Board of War, to whom I stated my objections fully on the 9th: April. I need not enter into a recapitulation of them at present, they in general were, that the principles on which Capt. McLean grounded his claim were not well founded, as there were many Officers in the line of the Army still remaining in the Rank of Captains who were elder than him; that the Corps, both Horse and Foot, was commanded by Major Lee, as Major Commandant, and that there was no real occasion for a Major to command the Infantry. I will, in confidence, give you a further reason for waving this matter. A compliance

94. From a photostat of the original kindly furnished by Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, of New York City.

Jones replied, in an undated letter, which is filed in the *Washington Papers* at the end of June, 1780: "Congress have been gradually surrendering or throwing upon the several States the exercise of powers, which they should have claimed and to their utmost have exercised themselves, untill at length they have scarce a power left but such as concerns foreign transactions, for as to the Army the Congress is at present little more than the Medium through which the wants of the Army are conveyed to the States. This Body never had or at least in few instances have exercised, powers adequate to the purposes of war. And such as they had have been from embarrassment and difficulties frittered away to the States and it will be found I fear very difficult to recover them. A Resolution was passed the other day desiring the States to inform us what they had done upon certain requisitions for some time past that we might know upon what we had to rely on. This may probably serve as a Basis for assuming powers should the answers afford an opening; other resolutions are now before us by one of them the States are desired to give express powers to call forth Men provisions money for carrying on the war for the common defence; others go to the assumption of them immediately; the first I have no doubt will pass this Body but will I expect sleep with the States, the others I believe will dye where they are; for so cautious are some of offending the States in this respect a Gentleman the other day plainly told us, upon a proposition to order some armed vessels to search the vessels going out to prevent the exportation of Flour, that, if an Embargo was laid in the Delaware as in this State he consented to the measure, otherwise he never would agree to such exercise of power."

with it would instantly lead to an application to promote Capt. Peyton of the Horse in the same Corps to a Majority. Peyton was a very young Officer in Blands, and such a measure would create great disgust, not only to the Officers of Blands, but of the other Corps of Horse, who are already extremely jealous of the superior advantages and priviledges which Major Lee has some [how] or other obtained.

I [now am,] as I [always have] been ready to acknowledge, a high opinion of Capt. McLean's merit, but I cannot give my assent to a measure which I plainly foresee would involve disagreeable consequences, for the reasons I have before mentioned.

[Your favours of the 26th. and 30th. ulto. are also before me, and deserve my particular thanks. We are in a strange dilemma respecting Charles Town. The York Gazette extray. of the 29th. Ultio. published by authority, gives an acct. of its surrender; subsequent papers give us the particulars, and yet the fact is doubted. This Nights post will certainly remove suspence if it does not give Mr. Rivington the lye. We seem to be almost as much at a loss with respect to the Naval transactions in the West Indies. We are told that more than one engagement has happened between the French

and British Squadrons in those Seas and can learn the particulars of neither, but hope fortune has decided in favour of the first from the currt. of information.

The Letters of your Comee. and my

public ones to Congress, will give you a full acct. of our proceedings at this place; it is unnecessary therefore to touch upon them in a private letter.

Mrs. Washington and the Gentn. of my Family join me in a tender of best wishes and an assurance of sincere regard etc.]³⁷

***To ROBERT MORRIS AND BLAIR McCLENACHAN**

Camp at Spring-field, June 20, 1780.

Gentn: I am honoured with your favor of the 3d. and have received, in good order, the Pipe of Spirits you were pleased to present me with; for both permit me to offer my grateful thanks, and to assure you that the value of the latter was greatly enhanced by the flattering sentiments contained in the former.

In a struggle like ours, perplexed with embarrassments, if it should be my fortune to conduct the Military helm in such a manner as to merit the approbation of good Men and my suffering fellow citizens it will be the primary happiness

37. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. The portions in brackets are in the writing of Washington.

of my life inasmuch as it is the great object of my wishes.

To you Gentn. I commit the care of making a tender of my Complimts. and thanks to the rest of the owners.⁵⁵ With much esteem etc.

To PRESIDENT JOSEPH REED

Head Quarters, Bergen County, July 4, 1780.

My Dear Sir: Motives of friendship not less than of public good induce me with freedom to give you my sentiments on a matter, which interests you personally as well as the good of the common cause. I flatter myself you will receive what I say, in the same spirit which dictates it, and that it will have all the influence circumstances will possibly permit.

The legislature of Pennsylvania has vested you, in case of necessity with a power of declaring Martial law throughout the state, to enable you to take such measures as the exigency may demand; so far the legislature has done its part. Europe America the state itself will look to you for the rest. The power vested in you will admit of all the latitude that could

55. Of one of the privateers in which Morris and McClenachan were jointly interested.

be desired and may be made to mean anything the public safety may require. If it is not exerted proportionably, you will be responsible for the consequences.

Nothing My Dear Sir can be more delicate and critical than your situation; a full discretionary power lodged in your hands in conjunction with the Council; great expectations in our allies and in the people of this country; ample means in the state for great exertions of every kind; a powerful party on one hand to take advantage of every opening to prejudice you; on the other popular indolence and avarice averse to every measure inconsistent with present ease and present interest; In this dilemma there is a seeming danger whatever side you take; it remains to choose that which has least real danger and will best promote the public weal. This in my Opinion clearly is to exert the powers intrusted to you with a boldness and vigor suited to the emergency.

In general I esteem it a good maxim, that the best way to preserve the confidence of the people durably is to promote their true interest; there are particular exigencies when this maxim has peculiar force. When any great object is in view, the popular mind is roused into expectation and prepared to make sacrifices both of ease and property; if those to whom they confide the management of their affairs do not call them to make these sacrifices, and the object is not attained, or they are involved in the reproach of not having contributed as much as they ought to have done towards it; they will be mortified at the disappointment

they will feel the censure, and their resentment will rise against those who with sufficient authority have omitted to do what their interest and their honor required. Extensive powers not exercised as far as was necessary, have I believe scarcely ever failed to ruin the possessor. The legislature and the people in your case, would be very glad to excuse themselves by condemning you. You would be assailed with blame from every quarter, [and your enemies would triumph.]

The party opposed to you in government are making great efforts. I am told the bank established for supplying the army is principally under the auspices of that party; It will undoubtedly give them great credit with the people, and you have no effectual way to counterbalance this but by employing all your influence and authority to render services proportioned to your station. Hitherto I confess to you frankly my Dear Sir I do not think your affairs are in the train which might be wished; and if Pennsylvania does not do its part fully it is of so much importance in the general scale that we must fail of success, or limit our views to mere defence.

I have conversed with some Gentlemen on the measure of filling your batalions. They seemed to think you could not exceed what the legislature had done for this purpose. I am of very different sentiment: The establishment of martial law implies, in my judgment the right of calling any part of your citizens into military service, and in any manner which may

be found expedient; and I have no doubt the draft may be executed.

I write to you with the freedom of friendship and I hope you will esteem it the truest mark I could give you of it. In this view whether you think my observations well founded or not, the motive will I am persuaded render them agreeable.

In offering my respects to Mrs. Reed, I must be permitted to accompany them with a tender of my very warm acknowledgments to her and you for the civilities and attention both of you have been pleased to show Mrs. Washington; and for the honor you have done me in calling the young Christian by my name. With the greatest regard etc.⁶⁹

To FRANCIS VAN DYKE

Head Quarters, July 10, 1780.

Sir: I have received yours of the 22d. 28th. and 29th. last month. The intelligence contained in the two latter is very vague and uncertain, and so far as respects the Enemys ships of War at New York, exceedingly incorrect. If you cannot open a correspondence with the person in New York, it will not answer my purpose; for I can every day hear the Stories of ignorant people who come out and only bring such information as the enemy propagate with intent to deceive us. I have sent you three Guineas by the Bearer, [and beg you will exert yourself in endeavouring to obtain intelligence from M. I am &c.]⁸

69. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton. The words in brackets are in the writing of Washington. The last paragraph is not in the draft, but is supplied from *Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed, op. cit.* Reed's long letter in reply to this, July 1, 1780, is printed in Sparks' *Corres. of the American Revolution*, vol. 3, p. 15.

8. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. The words in brackets are in the writing of Washington.

***To MRS. ESTHER REED**

Head Qrs in Bergen Cty., July 14, 1780.

Madam: I have received with much pleasure, but not till last night, your favor of the 4th. specifying the amount of the subscriptions already collected for the use of the American Soldiery. This fresh mark of the patriotism of the Ladies entitles them to the highest applause of their Country. It is impossible for the Army, not to feel a superior gratitude, on such an instance of goodness.

If I am happy in having the concurrence of the Ladies, I would propose the purchasing of course Linnen, to be made into Shirts, with the whole amount of their subscription. A Shirt extraordinary to the Soldier will be of more service, and do more to preserve his health than any other thing that could be procured him; while it is not intended, nor shall exclude him, from the usual supply which he draws from the public. This appears to me, to be the best mode for its application, and provided it is approved of by the Ladies. I am happy to find you have been good enough to give us a claim on your endeavours to compleat the execution of the design. An example so laudable will certainly be nurtured, and must be productive of a favourable Issue in the bosoms of the fair, in the Sister States.

Let me congratulate our benefactors on the arrival of the French fleet off the harbor of New-port on the

afternoon of the 10th. It is this moment announced, but without any particulars, as an interchange of Signals had only taken place.

I pray the Ladies of your family to receive with my compliments, my liveliest thanks for the interest they take in my favor. With the most perfect respect etc.⁴⁸

To MRS. ESTHER REED

Head Quarters, July 20, 1780.

An idea has occurred to me, my Dear Madam, which if perfectly consistent with the views of the female patriots may perhaps extend the utility of their subscriptions; it is to deposite the amount in the bank and receive bank notes in lieu of it to purchase the articles intended. This while serviceable to the Bank and advancing its operations seems to have no inconvenience to the intentions of the ladies. By uniting the efforts of patriotism they will reciprocally promote each other; and I should imagine the ladies will have no objection to an

48. From a photograph of the original kindly furnished by Miss Evelin Bache, of Bristol, R. I.

union with the Gentlemen.

But I beg Madam the suggestion I have taken the liberty to make may not have the least attention paid to it, if the sentiments of all the fair associates do not perfectly coincide. I have the honor etc.⁷⁵

***To JOSEPH JONES**

Head Quarters, Bergen County,⁹² July 22, 1780.

Dear Sir: Your favor of the 18th came to my hands last light; considering the delicate situation in which I stand with respect to General Gates, I feel an unwillingness⁹³ to give any opinion (even in a confidential way) in a matter in which he is concerned, lest my Sentiments (being known) should have unfavourable interpretation ascribed to them by illiberal Minds. I will however state facts, and leave you to draw inferences with respect to the promotion required.⁹⁴

Custom (for I do not recollect any Resolve of Congress authorizing it) has established a kind of right to the promotion of Brigadiers in State lines (where there are Regiments

75. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

92. The draft, which is also in the writing of Washington, is dated at "Camp at Prekenass."

93. The draft has "reluctance."

94. The promotion of Col. Daniel Morgan to brigadier general.

enough to require a Brigr. to command. There can be no objection therefore to the Gentn. named, on this ground.

By the practice of our Army, never less than four Regiments are placed in a Brigade, but in cases of necessity.

The quota of Regiments allotted to the State of Virginia originally, were 15. In the year 1778 there was an incorporation of some of them by the Committee of Arrangement (sent to the White Plains); and approved, to the best of my recollection by Congress; this reduced them to ; one of which is now at Fort Pitt.

The State of Virginia at this time (since the recall of Weedon) has 4 Brigrs. in pay, and two in active Service. Those in captivity will be injured if they should not return to actual command when they are exchanged; and they can have no command out of their own line. nor can there be any in it if new B: are made.

The State was about to raise 5000 Men, 4000 of which is, more than probably as many as they will get; and were I to form my judgment from our usual disappointments, and the customary deficiency in these cases, I should not expect 3000 Men.

At the request of Govr. Jefferson, and from a list of the Officers of the Virga. Line (not in captivity) I have made a temporary formation of those Troops into Six (or as the case may be) Seven Regiments, till they are surcharged; there being Officers enough in the State for this purpose.

The case of S—ns⁹⁵ is not singular it frequently happens, and in the nature of things must happen, while we depend upon Militia; and the appointment of Officers of his Rank are in the Executive of each State. I have no doubt but that several instances of this kind will occur under my immediate command in the course of the Campaign (if our intended operation goes forward). It is unavoidable, while we depend upon Militia for field Service.

The Gentn. who is the Subject of your Letter is a brave Officer, and a well meaning man, but his withdrawing from Service at the time he did last year, could not be justified on any ground; there was not, to my knowledge, the smallest cause for dissatisfaction; and the Season and circumstances

were totally opposed to the measure, even if cause had existed, till matters assumed a different aspect than they were at the time of his proffered resignation.⁹⁶

From this state of facts, which I believe to be candid and impartial, you will judge of the propriety, or impropriety of the promotion in question, and act accordingly.

If any letter of mine to Colo. Harrison (Speaker to the Virginia House of Delegates) could have a tendency to injure rather than promote the Service in which we are engaged the operation of it, and my intention, are as far apart as the North pole is from the South.

95. Edward Stevens. He had been colonel of the Tench Virginia Regiment; resigned in January, 1778; brigadier and major general of Virginia Militia in 1779–1782; wounded at Guilford Court House, S.C., in March, 1781.

96. Promotion of junior officers to the injury of Morgan's rank, as well as impaired health, were the reasons assigned for his resignation.

In May, after the Marquis's arrival with assurances of speedy succour from France, I wrote to Colo. Harrison⁹⁷ (which I had not done for many months before) and informed him, knowing the Assembly was then setting, of the totally deranged situation of our affairs, of our distresses; of the utter impracticability of availing ourselves of this generous aid, unless the States would rouse from the Torpor that had siezed them, and observed, that "This is a decisive moment, one (I will go further and say) *the* most important, America has seen. The Court of France has made a glorious effort for our deliverance...

97. The draft of this letter to Harrison is not now found in the *Washington Papers*, but the draft of the above letter to Jones contains the following note at the omitted portion: "See Letter to Govr. Reed of the 28th of May; from the 6th line in the 2d page to the last clause in the 5th page." The part omitted above is a verbatim extract between the quotation marks from Washington's letter to Gov. Joseph Reed, May 28, 1780, *q. v.*

if our measures are not adequate to the emergency." The Committee of Congress in their late address to the several States have given a just picture of our situation. I very much doubt its making the desired impression, and if it does not, I shall consider our lethargy as incurable. The present juncture is so interesting, that if it does not produce corrispondent exertions, it will be a proof that motives of honor, public good and even self preservation, have lost their influence on our Minds. If there is any thing in the foregoing quotation of my Letter to Colo. Harrison that could prejudice

the Service, I must abide the consequences, for I certainly wrote what is recited, not officially as you will readily perceive, but in a private letter to a friend, whose influence, together with that of every well wisher to the cause I wanted to engage, as I thought it high time that every Engine should be at work. The whole of what I wrote on the points you mention, are faithfully

transcribed, that you may judge how far it could prejudice the Service. With the greatest esteem etc.

PS. The latter clause of the quotation of my letter to Colo. Harrison I am not *absolutely* certain was sent. The original draught contained it, but I am in some doubt whether it was copied, or not. this I mention that there may be no possible mis-information on my part.

***To JOHN MITCHELL**

Head Qrs., Prekeness, July 26, 1780.

Dr. Sir: Your Letter of the 19th. accompanying 12 pr. thread hose came Safe to hand; the latter I fear are too small, but they must do.

I thank you for the trouble you have had about the Chariot. The Sum for which the old one sold and wch. you say lyes in your hands you will be so good as to pay to Mrs. Washington's order; first deducting the price of the Merseilles quilting, and the repairs to my Watch (by the inclosed ticket) which is every thing I recollect of a private nature and that ought not to go to public Acct. My Compliments attend Mrs. Mitchell and I am etc.

***To JOSEPH JONES**

Head Qrs. Tappan, August 13, 1780.

Dear Sir: The subject of this letter will be confined to a single point. I shall make it as short as possible, and write it with frankness. If any sentiment therefore is delivered which may be displeasing to you *as a member of Congress*, ascribe it to the freedom which is taken with you by a friend, who has nothg. in view but the public good.

In your letter without date, but which came to hand yesterday, an idea is held up as if the acceptance of General Green's resignation of the Qr. Mrs. department was not all that Congress meant to do with him.⁹⁵ If by this it is in contemplation to suspend him from his command in the line (of which

he made an express reservation at the time of entering on the other duty) and it is not already enacted, let me beseech you to consider *well* what you are about before you resolve.

I shall neither condemn, or acquit Genl. Greens conduct for the act of resignation, because all the antecedents⁹⁶ are necessary to form a right judgment of the matter, and possibly, if the affair is ever brought before the public, you may find him treading on better ground than you seem to imagine;⁹⁷ but this by the by. My sole aim at

95. Jones had written from Congress: "We have been greatly perplexed the last week with General Greenes refusal to act in the office of Quarter Master General unless the New System was totally repealed and he was allowed to conduct it under your direction in such a manner as he should think most conducive to the public Service besides Congress were to *request* Pettit and Cox to resume their Offices. If Genl. Greene thought the New System wanted amendment and had pointed out the defect Congress woud. have considered the matter and I doubt not woud. have made the necessary alternation. But the manner of these demands made in such peremptory terms, at the moment of action when the Campaign was opened the Enemy in the Field, and our ally waiting for Cooperation, has lessened Genl. Greene, not only in the Opinion of Congress but I think of the Public; and I question whether it will terminate with the acceptance of his refusal only. On Saturday Col. Pickering was appointed to the Office of Quarter Master General, with the Rank of Colonel and the pay and Rations of a Brigadier General and to hold his place at the Board of War without pay or right to act while in the office of Quarter Master General. This Gentlemans Integrity Ability, and attention to Business will I hope not only prevent the evils to be apprehended from a change in so important a Department at this time but will I hope be able to reform some of the abuses crept into that Business and lessen the amazing expenditures of the Department." Jones's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

96. Robert Hanson Harrison had interlined the word "correspondences" at this point.

97. Washington's first composition was: "and I shall be much mistaken if the affair is brought before the public if you do not find him treading etc."

present is to [advertise you of what I think would be]⁹⁸ the consequences of suspending him from his command in the line (a matter distinct from the other), without a proper tryal. A procedure of this kind must touch the feelings of every Officer; it will shew in a conspicuous point of view the uncertain tenure by which they hold their Commissions. In a word it will exhibit such a specimen of power⁹⁹ that I question much if there is an Officer in the whole line that will¹ hold a Commission

beyond the end of the Campaign if they do till then. [Such an Act in the most Despotic Government would be attended at least with loud complaints.]²

It [does not] require, [I am sure, with you] argument at this time of day to prove, that there is no set of Men in the United States (considered as a body) that have made the same sacrifices of their Interest in support of the common cause as the Officers of the American Army; that nothing but [a love of their Country,] of honor, and a desire of seeing their labours crowned with success could possibly induce them to continue one moment in Service. That no Officer can live upon his pay, that hundreds having spent their little all in addition to their scant public allowance have resigned, because they could no longer support themselves as Officers; that numbers are, at this moment, rendered unfit for duty for want of Cloathing, while the rest are wasteing their property and some of them verging fast to the gulph of poverty and distress. Can it be supposed

98. The phrase in brackets is in the writing of Harrison. The following, in the writing of Washington, is crossed out: "warn you of."

99. Washington first wrote: "stretch of arbitrary power."

1. Washington first wrote: "will continue to hold etc."

2. The words in brackets are interlined by Harrison.

that men under these circumstances [who can derive at best if the Contest ends happily, only the advantages which attend in equal proportion with Others] will sit patient under such a precedent? surely they will not, for the measure, not the man, will be the subject of consideration and each will ask himself this question if Congress by its mere fiat, without enquiry and without tryal, will suspend one Officer to day; [an officer of such high rank,] may it not be my turn to morrow and ought I to put it in the power of any man or body of men to sport with my Commission and character and lay me under the necessity of tamely acquiescing, or by an appeal to the public expose matters which must be injurious to its interests? [The suspension of Genls. Schuyler and St. Clair, tho it was preceded by the loss of Ticonderoga which contributed not a little for the moment to excite prejudices against them, was by no means viewed with a satisfactory eye by many discerning Men, and tho it was in a manner supported by the public clamor; and the one in contemplation I am almost morally certain will be generally reprobated by the Army. Suffer not my Friend, if it is within the compass of your abilities to prevent it, so disagreeable an event to take place. I do not mean to justify; to countenance or excuse in the most distant degree any expressions of disrespect which the Gentn. in question, if he has used any, may have offered to Congress, no more than I do any unreasonable

matters he may have required respecting the Q. M. G. department, but as I have already observed, my Letter is to prevent his suspension, because I *fear* , because I *feel* it must lead to very disagreeable and injurious consequences. Genl Greene has his numerous Friends out of the Army as well as in it, and from his Character and consideration in the world, he might not, when he felt himself wounded in so summary way, withhold from a discussion that could not at best promote the public cause. As a Military Officer he stands very fair and very deservedly so, in the opinion of all his acquaintance.]

These sentiments are the result of my own reflections on the matter and, [I hasten to inform you of them.] I do not know that Genl. Greene has ever heard of the matter [and I hope he never may;] nor am I acquainted with the opinion of a single Officer in the whole Army upon the subject. Nor will any tone be given by me. It is my wish to prevent the proceeding;³ for sure I am it cannot be brought to a happy issue if it takes place.⁴ I am &c.

***To MAJOR GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE**

Head Quarters, Orange Town, August 15, 1780.

Sir: As you are retiring from the Office of

3. Washington wrote: "evil"; but this was crossed off by Harrison and "proceeding" substituted.

4. Jones replied to the above letter on September 6. The resentment against Greene had largely subsided, he wrote, before Washington's letter arrived. Extravagance was the main charge against the Quartermaster General. "The amazing Sums of money gone into that Department under his superintendence, abt Eighty millions and it is said about thirty millions unpaid the whole of which is unaccounted for has excited uneasiness not only in this Body but the people at large who call out for a settlement of the public accounts and although repeated endeavours have been used to bring the Officers in the great departments of the Army to account none have been rendered nor any likelihood of bringg. them to a settlement." Jones's letter is in the *Washington Papers*. A report of the Board of Treasury (Aug. 3, 1780) places the expenditures of the Quartermaster General at "82,993,276 and 60 dollars," for which no account had been rendered.

Quarter Master General and have requested my sense of your conduct and Services while you acted in it, I shall give it to you with the greatest chearfulness and pleasure.

You conducted the various and important duties of it with capacity and diligence; entirely to my satisfaction, and as far as I had an opportunity of knowing with the strictest integrity.

When you were prevailed on to undertake the Office in March 1778 it was in great disorder and confusion and by extraordinary exertions you so arranged it, as to enable the Army to take the Field the moment it was necessary, and to move with rapidity after the Enemy when they left Philadelphia.

From that period to the present time, your exertions have been equally great; have appeared to me to be the result of System, and to have been well calculated to promote the interest and honor of your Country. And in fine I cannot but add, that the States have had in you, in my opinion, an able, upright and diligent Servant. I am etc.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL ANTHONY WAYNE

Head Quarters, September 6, 1780.

Dr Sir: I have received Your Letter of the 3rd and return You my warmest thanks for your professions of friendship.¹ These are the more pleasing as I am convinced, they are founded in the strictest sincerity, and I hope it is needless for me to tell You at this time, that an equal regard for You, prevails on my part. I am concerned however, that you should have given Yourself the trouble of writing me on the subject of Your Letter. I did not want any assurances or any proofs upon the point, because I entertain no idea, that You encouraged the unhappy measure, to which You allude, and which I wish to be buried in oblivion² Your former assurances, your anxiety to which I was a Witness; the interesting part you took to compromise and settle the matter, were sufficient to remove every belief of the sort.

I do not know with certainty the person to whom You allude, as having attempted to injure You but from what I have heard, and not without much pain, it is probable I could conjecture who it is. If I am not mistaken with respect to the person I mean, I can with the greatest truth assure You, that he never mentioned a syllable to me in his life injurious to You in the least possible degree, nor have I any reason to believe that *he* ever did to Any Gentleman of my family.

1. Wayne's letter of September 3 is in the *Washington Papers*.

2. The furore caused by the intended appointment of Maj. William Macpherson to the Light Infantry.

The bare report of a coolness, which is said to subsist between You and the Gentleman I have in view, has given me great concern, because I have a warm friendship for both, and consider harmony essential to our interest. There is nothing, if he is the person,³ which would give me more pleasure, than to hear that You were in perfect amity again. Let it be the case. Let all differences subside; the situation of our affairs never required it more, and in the Emphatical terms of your and General Irvine's Letter, of which You inclosed a Copy; Let all be as a band of Brothers and rise superior to every injury, whether real or imaginary and persevere in the arduous but glorious struggle in which we are engaged, 'till Peace and Independence are secured to our Country. I am certain You will do it; and I will only add that I am etc.⁴

To JOHN MATHEWS

Head Quarters, September 9, 1780.

Dear Sir: I have heard...³³

3. Possibly Joseph Reed.

4. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

33. The omitted portion is identical with Washington's letter to Joseph Jones, the same date as this letter, *q. v.*

among the first Officers in the Establishment. Doctors Latimore, Tilton, Hagan, and Townshend, who are now Senior Surgeons, are also Gentlemen of great merit and have a just claim to be continued; from their abilities, attention and other considerations. They are all single Men, and therefore, being otherwise well qualified, are the most eligible. I have received too, the most favourable reports of the merits and attention of Doctor Jenifer, a Junior Surgeon, who is in the same situation. A Doctor Craige, the present Apothecary General, a Gentleman not personally known to me, has been reported to me as very deserving of the Appointment.

The several Gentlemen I have mentioned, as I have observed, appear to me to have the fairest pretensions to the public Esteem, and if they are honoured with proper places, I am satisfied the public will be greatly benefitted by their services.

There are many other...³⁴

34. The omitted portion here is practically the same as the conclusion of Washington's letter to Joseph Jones, the same date as this letter, *q. v.* The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To THOMAS MUMFORD⁸⁴

Head Quarters, Bergen County, September 15, 1780.

Sir: I have recd. your obliging letter of the 8th. inclosing an order upon Mr. Chenward of Harford for the delivery of a pipe of Madeira Wine for my use. The polite manner in which it is tendered adds not a little to the value of the present. Altho' I have not the pleasure of an acquaintance with you, I am no stranger to your character, which I have often heard represented in the most favorable light, I shall be happy in an opportunity of returning you my thanks personally and am with great Respect etc.⁸⁵

84. Of Groton, Conn.

85. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

***To JOHN MATHEWS**

Tappan, October 4, 1780.

My dear Sir: I have had the honor to receive your favors of the 15th. and 24th. Ulto. I thank you much for your kind communications which are rendered more pleasing as they are offered without reserve.

As Congress has already allowed the alternative of raising men for twelve months, opinions on the propriety of the measure can be of no avail; but since you have done me the honor to ask mine I have no scruple in declaring I most firmly believe that the Independance of the United States never will be established till there is an Army on foot for the War; that⁹⁰ [if we are to rely on occasional or annual Levies] we must sink under the expence; and ruin must follow.

From an opinion which seems to have influenced Congress, that men cannot be drafted for the War (but which, with due deference to their judgment I think is a mistaken one, as [it seems to be a prevailing] sentiment⁹¹ as I have [heard, that Nothing but an Army on a permanent footing will do]). Gentn. unacquainted with the true state of facts, and struck with the magnitude of the bounty which in the first instance must be given to induce men to engage for this period, without attending to the Sum which is given for

90. Washington first wrote "that short of it," but afterwards substituted the phrase in brackets, which is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison and himself.

91. Washington first wrote "as the sentiment of the people as far as I have been able to come at it, is in favour of the measure"; but afterwards substituted the phrasing in brackets, which is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

a years service [perhaps in reality for a much less time, tho a Year may be mentioned as the ostensible term,] and that this sum is more than doubled at every New enlistment; without considering the immense waste of Arms, ammunition, Stores, Camp utensils &ca. incidental to these changes; without adverting to the pay and subsistence of two sets of men at the same instant (the old and New levies) and the expence of marching and counter-marching them to and from Camp; Without taking into the acct. the interruption which agriculture and all kinds of handicrafts meet with, by which [our Supplies are lessened and] the prices are considerably increased; And (wch. is of the greatest importance) without considering the difference between a healthy Army (which is generally the case of one composed of old Soldiers, and a sickly one, which is [commonly the case with respect] to the New, and the lives lost in acquiring a seasoning, [and without considering that in all exchanges of privates prisoners of War, we give the Enemy a certain permanent force and add but little and some times nothing to our own strength, as the terms of service of those we receive in exchange are already expired, or terminate often soon after.] Without attending I say to these things, which are remote, and require close investigation, and a recurrence to the public expenditures to be masters of them, they conclude, that the bounty necessary to engage men for the War is beyond our abilities, reject it, and adopt another system which involves [ultimately] ten times

the expence and infinitely greater distress. While in the one case we should have a well disciplined Army, ready at all times and upon all occasions to take advantage of circumstances; in the other, the most favourable moments may pass away unimproved, because the composition of our Troops is such that we dare not in the beginning of a campaign attempt enterprizes on Acct. of the rawness

of the men, nor at the latter end of it because they are about to leave us (after the immense toil and pains wch. the Officers have taken to teach them their duty) and we have another set to attend to.

From long experience and the fullest conviction, I have been, and now am decidedly in favr. of a permanent force; but knowing the jealousies wch. have been entertained on this head; Heaven knows how unjustly, [and the cause of which could never be apprehended were a due regard had to our local and other circumstances, even if ambitious views could be supposed to exist]; and that our political helm was in another direction, I forbore to press my Sentiments [for a time]; but at a [moment] when we are tottering on the brink of a precipice, silence would [have been] criminal.

The amendment proposed by you for keeping the old levies in the field till the new should arrive would certainly be a most desirable thing if it could be accomplished; but I doubt the practicability of it; for if there is not a definite term fixed with the men we could as easily get them

for the War; and if there was a period fixed, altho the condition of a relief [should be]⁹² annexed to it (which more than probably [would]⁹² be kept as much as possible out of their sight) We never should be able to retain them; desertion therefore, and a genl. loss of public Arms, [would]⁹² be the inevitable consequence of an attempt to detain them after they had compleated what they conceived to be the term of their engagement.

I felt much pain in reading that part of your letter which speaks of the reception of the Comee. of Co-operation in Congress.⁹³ At a time when public harmony is so essential; when we should aid and assist each other with all our abilities; When our hearts should be open to information, and our hands ready to administer relief; to find distrusts and jealousies taking possession of the Mind, and a party spirit prevailing is a most melancholy reflexion, and forebodes no good.

I shall always be happy to hear from you,⁹⁴ being with the truest esteem etc.

92. The words in brackets are inserted in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

93. Mathews's letter to Washington (September 15) said: "I find there is a decided party formed against the Committee that were at Camp, which I have seriously to dread, will be productive of no good to our public affairs. I owe much to the public but still I owe something to myself and can never tamely suffer a set of miscreants to triumph over me with impunity. Regardless of our Characters as members of their own body, I find we are to be considered as Qr. Masters &c. and lyable to equal insults, without the least pretentions to call such conduct in question.... Although I had heard a good

deal, and seen something of the rancour of these Demagogues yet I never imagined it had risen to that height, I was made to *feel* it had done, on my resuming my seat in Congress....I suppose any future propositions of mine, will be immediately exploded 'as too strongly tinctured with those *Army principles*, which I had imbibed, whilst with them'. I cannot but think it hard, that a man who which to be useful, should be thus unjustly precluded from being so." Mathews's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

94. At this point the draft has the following crossed out: "indeed it is necessary I should know more than comes to my knowledge officially of the intentions of Congress respecting the Army that I may make the most of circumstances."

To JAMES DUANE

Hd. Qrs., Tappan, October 4, 1780.

I thank you My Dear Sir for your letter of the 19th. of Sept. I should have been happy in the information you give me that some progress had been made in the business of raising a permanent army had it not been intimated to me through other channels that in the resolutions framed on this article, the fatal alternative of, *for one year* has been admitted. In my letter to Congress of the 20th. of Aug. I recommend a draft for the war or for three years; and say " *a shorter period than one year is inadmissible* ". You will perceive however that the general scope of my arguments look to an army for the war; and any other idea crept in from an apprehension that this plan would not go down. The present juncture is in my opinion peculiarly favourable to a permanent army, and I regret that an opening is given for a temporary one. It also gives me pain to find that the pernicious state system is still adhered to by leaving the reduction incorporation &c. of the regiments to the particular states. This is one of the greatest evils of our affairs.

I share with you the pleasure you feel from the measures taking to strengthen the hands of Congress. I am convinced it is essential to our safety that Congress should have an *efficient* power. The want of it must ruin us.

The satisfaction I have in any successes that attend us or even in the alleviation of misfortunes is always allayed by a fear that it will lull us into security. Supineness and a disposition to flatter ourselves seem to make parts of our national character; when we receive a check and are not quite undone, we are apt to fancy we have gained a victory; and when we do gain any little advantage, we imagine it decisive and expect the war is immediately to end. The history of the war is a history of false hopes and temporary expedients. Would to God they were to end here! This winter, if I am not

mistaken, will open a still more embarrassing scene than we have yet experienced to the Southward. I have little doubt should we not gain a naval superiority, that Sir Henry Clinton will detach to the southward to extend his conquests. I am far from being satisfied that we shall be prepared to repel his attempts.

Reflections of this kind to you, My Dr. Sir, are unnecessary; I am convinced you view our affairs on the same scale that I do, and will exert yourself to correct our errors and call forth our resources.

The interview at Harford produced nothing conclusive, because neither side knew with certainty what was to be expected. We could only combine possible plans on the supposition of possible events; and engage mutually to do every thing in our powers against the next campaign.

Happy to rank you among the number of my friends, I speak to you with confidence. With the truest esteem etc.⁹⁵

***To BRIGADIER GENERAL JOHN CADWALADER**

Head Qrs., Tappan, October 5, 1780.

Dear Sir: I have to acknowledge and thank you for

95. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton. The date line and superscription is in the writing of Washington.

Replying to this letter, Duane wrote (October 10): "I saw and explained the danger of an *Alternative* however cautiously expressed.... I am perswaded that your Excellency's Representations on this and every Subject will have as much Influence as you can wish, and that on this particular Occasion nothing but a Clear Conviction of Impracticability will induce Congress to overrule your Opinion. A false Estimate of the power and Perseverance of our Enemies was friendly to the present Revolution: and inspired that Confidence of Success in all Ranks of people, which was necessary to unite them in so arduous a Cause. You cannot forget the Opinions, which were Current on this Floor during the first and second Congresses and how firmly they established this Error. We seem to part with it with Reluctance; it still hangs heavy upon us; and has produced the Indecision, the Expedients and the Debility of which you complain. I hope Misfortunes and distresses will at length rouse us to Just Sentiments and vigorous Exertions; and with your Excellency I pray God, That the fatal Delusion which has marked our Conduct may end here." Duane's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

your obliging and friendly letter of the 20th Ult. It came to this place in my absence from the Army and during my necessary detention at West point on a very interesting but disgraceful incident in our Military occurrences.

Altho I have but little leizure for the gratification of private corrispondencies, I beg you to be assured, that from a warmth of friendship, any letters of yours will be gratefully accepted. and it is with much pleasure I receive fresh assurances of your regard and attachment to me.

We are now drawing an inactive Campaign to a close. The beginning of which appeared pregnant with events, of a favourable complexn, I hoped, but hoped in vain, that a prospect was displaying which wd. enable me to fix a period to my military pursuits, and restore me to domestic life. The favourable disposition of Spain; the promised succour from France; the combined force in the West Indies; The declaration of Russia (acceded to by other powers of Europe, humiliating to the Naval pride and power of Great Britain); the Superiority of France and Spain by Sea in Europe; The Irish claims and English disturbances, formed in the agregate, an opinion in my breast (which is not very susceptible of peaceful dreams) that the hour of deliverance was not far distant; for that however unwilling Great B: might be to yield the point, it would not be in her power to continue the contest. but alas these prospects, flattering as they were, have prov'd

delusory, and I see nothing before us but accumulating distress. We have been half of our time without provision and are like to continue so. We have no Magazines, nor money to form them, and in a little time we shall have no Men, if we had money to pay them. We have lived upon expedients till we can live no longer. In a word, the history of the War is a history of false hopes and temporary devices, instead of system and (economy. It is in vain however to look back, nor is it our business to do so. Our case is not desperate, if virtue exists in the people and there is wisdom among our rulers; but to suppose that this great revolution can be accomplished by a temporary army; that this Army will be subsisted by State supplies, and that taxation alone is adequate to our wants, is, in my Opinion absurd and as unreasonable as to expect an Inversion in the order of nature to accommodate itself to our views. If it was necessary, it could easily be proved to any person of a moderate share of understanding, that an annual Army, or any Army raised on the spur of the occasion, besides being unqualified for the end designed, is, in various ways which could be enumerated, ten times more expensive than a permanent body of Men, under good organization and military discipline, which never was, nor never will be the case of New Troops. A thousand arguments, resulting from experience and the nature of things, might also be adduced to prove, that the Army, if it is to depend upon State supplies, must disband or starve; and that taxation alone (especially at this

late hour) cannot furnish the mean to carry on the War. Is it not time then to retract from error, and benefit by experience? or do we want further proof of the ruinous system we have pertinaciously adhered to?

You seem to regret not having accepted the appointment of Congress to a command in the American Army. It is a circumstance that ever was, most sincerely, regretted by me, and it is the more to be lamented as we find an Officer high in rank, and Military reputation capable of turning apostate, and attempting to sell his Country. Men of independent spirit and firmness of mind, must step forth to rescue our affairs from the embarrassments they have fallen into, or they will suffer in the general Wreck. I do not mean to apply this more to the Military than civil line. We want the best, and ablest men in both.

To tell you, if any event shd. ever bring you to the army, and you have no *commd* . in it equal to your merit; nor *place* more agreeable to your wishes than being a member of my family, that I should be happy in seeing you there, would only be announcing a truth which has often been repeated and wch. I hope you are convinced of.

My best respects attend Mrs. Cadwalader, and compliments of congratulation to both of you on the increase of your family. With sentiments of the most sincere regard etc.

***To BENJAMIN FRANKLIN**

Bergen County in the State of N: Jersey, October 9, 1780.²⁴

Dear Sir: I was very much obliged by the letter which you did me the honor to write me by our amiable young friend the Marquis De La Fayette, whose exertions to serve this Country in his own are additional proofs of his zealous attachment to our cause, and has endeared him to us still more.

He came out flushed with expectations of a decisive campaign and fired with hopes of acquiring fresh laurels, but in both he has been disappointed; for we have been condemned to an inactivity as inconsistent with the situation of our affairs as with the ardor of his temper.

I am sensible of all I owe you my Dear Sir for your sentiments of me, and while I am happy in your esteem, I cannot but wish for occasions of giving you marks of mine.

The idea of making a tour together, which you suggest after the War, would be one of the strongest motives I could have to postpone my plan of retirement and make a visit to Europe, if my domestic

habits which seem to acquire strength from restraint did not tell me, I shall find it impossible to resist them longer than my duty to the public calls for the sacrifice of my inclinations.

24. The draft in the *Washington Papers* is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton, and dated by Washington, October 11. It is printed under date of October 11 by Ford.

I doubt not you are so fully informed by Congress of our political and military State that it would be superfluous to trouble you with any thing relating to either. If I were to speak on topics of the kind it would be to shew that our present situation makes one of two things essential to us. A Peace, or the most vigorous aid of our Allies particularly in the article of money. Of their disposition to serve us we cannot doubt; their generosity will do every thing their means will permit.

With my best wishes for the preservation of your useful life and for every happiness that can attend you which a sincere attachment can dictate I am, etc.

[N.J.H.S.]

***To LIEUTENANT COLONEL JOHN LAURENS**

Hd. Qrs., Passaic Falls, October 13, 1780.

My dear Laurens: Your friendly and Affectione. letter of the 4th. came to my hands on the 10th. and would have been acknowledged yesterday by the Baron de Steuben but for some important business I was preparing for Congress.

In no instance since the commencement

of the War has the interposition of Providence appeared more conspicuous than in the rescue of the Post and Garrison of West point from Arnolds villainous perfidy. How far he meant to involve me in the catastrophe of this place does not appear by any indubitable evidence, and I am rather inclined to think he did not wish to hazard the more important object of his treachery by attempting to combine two events the lesser of which might have marred the greater.⁶¹ A combination of extraordinary circumstances. An unaccountable deprivation of presence of Mind in a man of the first abilities, and the virtuous conduct of three Militia men, threw the Adjutant General of the British forces in America (with full proofs of Arnolds treachery) into our hands; and but for the egregious folly, or the bewildered conception of Lieutt. Colo. Jameson who seemed lost in astonishment and not to have known what he was doing I should as certainly have got Arnold. André has met his

fate, and with that fortitude which was to be expected from an accomplished man, and gallant Officer. But I am mistaken if at *this time*, Arnold is undergoing the torments of a mental Hell.⁶² He wants feeling! From some traits of his character which have lately come to my knowledge, he seems to have been so hackneyed in villainy, and so lost to all sense of honor and shame that while his faculties will enable him to continue his sordid pursuits there will be no time for remorse.

Believe me sincere when I assure you,

61. Laurens had congratulated Washington on *his* escape from the machinations of Arnold's plot.

62. Laurens had written: "Arnold must undergo a punishment incomparably more severe in the permanent increasing torment of a mental hell." Laurens's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

that my warmest wishes accompany Captn. Wallops⁶³ endeavours and your expectations of exchange; and that nothing but the principle of Justice and policy wch. I have religiously adhered to of exchanging Officers in the order of their Captivity (where rank would apply) has prevented my every exertion to obtain your release and restoration to a family where you will be receiv'd with open arms by every individual of it; but from none with more cordiality and true affection than Your Sincere friend etc.

P.S. The Baron⁶⁴ not setting out as I expected becomes the bearer of this letter.

[H.S.P.]

To MARIA JOSEFA ELIRIO DE LA PUENTE⁶⁵

Head Quarters, Preckaness, October 13, 1780.

Madam: Don Francisco⁶⁶ having been so good as to inform me of an opportunity to the Havannah, I cannot forego the honour of making my acknowledgments to you for your obliging letter of the 6th. of July last. All the attentions I had in my power to pay to your deceased husband were dictated, by the friendship with which his many amiable qualities had inspired me.

Your affliction Madam and that of

63. Hon. Henry Wallop. He was captain in the Forty-first Foot, British Army.

64. Baron Steuben.

65. Widow of Juan de Miralles.

66. Don Francisco Rendon. He was Spanish agent in America, succeeding Miralles.

his family are additional motives for the regret I feel for his loss. Esteemed by all those who had the pleasure of his acquaintance, he could not but be dear to his more intimate and tender connexions. My heart will always pay a tribute to his memory and take a warm part in the distresses, which his loss must occasion to his family. With the most sincere respect, etc.

***To PRESIDENT JOSEPH REED**

Hd. Qrs., Passaic Falls, October 18, 1780.

Dear Sir: By your favor of the 3d.²⁵ from Bethlehem, I perceive my letter of the first, had not got to your hands; but I have the pleasure to find that the business you were upon anticipated the purposes of it, and was in a fair way to answer the end.

Arnold's conduct is so villainously perfidious, that there are no terms that can describe the baseness of his heart. That overruling Providence which has so often, and so remarkably interposed in our favor, never manifested

25. Not now found in the *Washington Papers*.

itself more conspicuously than in the timely discovery of his horrid design of surrendering the Post and Garrison of West point into the hands of the enemy. I confine my remark to this single Act of perfidy for I am far from thinking he intended to hazard a defeat of this important object by combining another with it, altho' there were circumstances which led to a contrary belief. The confidence, and folly which has marked the subsequent conduct of this man, are of a piece with his villainy; and all three are perfect in their kind. The interest you take in my supposed escape, and the manner in which you speak of it, claim my thanks [as much] as if he had really intended to involve my fate with that of the Garrison, and [I consider it as] a fresh instance of your affectionate regard for me.

As I do not recollect ever to have held any [very] particular conversation with General Schuyler respecting Arnold, I should be glad to obtain a copy of the letter in which you say my "opinion and confidence in him (Arnold) is conveyed in terms of affection and approbation." Some time before or after Arnolds return from Connecticut, (the conversation made so little impression on me that I know not which), General Schuyler informed me he had received a Letter from Arnold intimating his intention of joining the Army and rendering such Services as his Leg would permit; adding, that he was incapable of active Service; but could discharge the duties of a stationary command without much inconvenience or uneasiness to his

Leg. I answered that as we had a prospect of an active and vigorous campaign I should be glad of General Arnold's aid and assistance but saw little prospect of his obtaining such a command as appear'd to be the object of his wishes because it was my intention to draw my whole force into the field when we were in circumstances to commence our operations against New York, leaving even West point to the care of Invalids and a small garrison of Militia; but if, after this previous declaration, the command of the Post, for the reasons he assigned, would be more convenient and agreeable to him than a command in the field, I should readily indulge him; having had it hinted to me by a very respectable character, a member of Congress²⁶ (not General Schuyler) that a measure of this kind would not be unacceptable to the State most immediately interested in the welfare, and safety of the Post.

This, to the best of my knowledge and recollection, is every syllable that ever passed between Genl. Schuyler and me respecting Arnold, or any of his concerns; the manner, and the matter, appeared perfectly uninteresting to both of us at the time. He seemed to have no other view in communicating the thing than because he was requested to do it, and my answer dictated by circumstances you already have; but how it was communicated the Letter will show.

That this Gentn. (Genl. Schuyler) possesses a share of my regard and confidence I shall readily acknowledge; a pretty long acquaintance with him, an opinion

26. Robert R. Livingston.

of his abilities, his intimate knowledge of our circumstances, his candour as far as I have had opportunities of forming a judgment of it added to personal civilities and proofs of a warm friendship which I never had a doubt of, would leave me without excuse were I to with-hold these from him. What ascendancy he may have over the Army is more than I can tell,²⁷ but I shd. not be surprized if he stands in a favourable point of view with respect to their esteem. The means he took to acquire a true knowledge of their distresses, while he was with it; the representations he made

to procure relief; and his evident endeavours to promote the objects for which he was appointed, seems to have made this a natural consequence.

That part of your Letter wch. respects the exchange of Prisoners will be made the subject of a partr. letter and shall accompany this.²⁸ With great esteem etc.

***To MAJOR HENRY LEE**

Hd. Qrs., October 20, 1780.

Dr. Sir: The plan proposd for taking A—,³³

27. At this point the following is crossed off in the draft: "I wish the delegates in Congress would visit the Army in rotation; it might have a very good effect."

28. See Washington's letter to Joseph Reed, Oct. 19, 1780, *post*.

33. Benedict Arnold.

the out lines of which are communicated in your letter which was this moment put into my hands without a date, has every mark of a good one,³⁴ I therefore agree to the promised rewards, and have such entire confidence in your management of the business as to give it my fullest approbation; and leave the whole to the guidance of your own judgment, with this express stipulation, and pointed injunction, that he A—d is brought to me alive. No circumstance whatever shall obtain my consent to his being put to death. The idea which would accompany such an event would be that Ruffians had been hired to assassinate him. My aim is to make a public example of him. and this should be strongly impressed upon those who are employed to bring him off. The Sergeant must be very circumspect; too much zeal may create suspicion; and too much precipitancy may defeat the project. The most inviolable secrecy must be observed on all hands. I send you five Guineas; but I am not satisfied of the propriety of the Sergeants appearing with much Specie; this circumstance may also lead to suspicion as it is but too well known to the enemy that we do not deal much in this article. The Interviews between the Party in and out of the City, shd. be managed with much caution and seeming indifference or else the frequency of their meetings &ca. may betray the design and involve bad consequences; but I am perswaded you will place every matter in a proper point of view to rise conductors of this interesting business and therefore I shall only add that I am etc.

34. Lee's undated letter is filed in the *Washington Papers* at the end of September, 1780. "I have engaged two persons to undertake the accomplishment of your Excellency's wishes...The chief of the two persons is a sergeant in my cavalry. To him I have promised promotion, the other is an inhabitant of Newark; I have had experience of his fidelity, and his connexions with the enemy render him, with his personal qualifications very fit for the business. To this man I have engaged one hund. guineas, five hundd. acres of land and three negroes...The outlines of the scheme...are that the Sergeant should join Gen. Arnold as a deserter from us, should engage in his corps now raising, and should contrive to insinuate himself into some menial or military birth about the Genl's person. That a correspondence should be kept up with the man in Newark, by the latter's visiting the former every two days. When the favorable moment arrives they should seize the prize in the night, gag him, and bring him across to Bergen woods...The Sergeant is a very promising youth of uncommon taciturnity, and invincible perseverance...I have instructed him not to return till he receives direction from me, but to continue his attempts, however unfavorable the prospects may appear at first. I have excited his thirst for fame by impressing on his mind the virtue and glory of the act." The sergeant, John Champe, deserted on the night of October 20–21, and, to prevent a possible suspicion, Lee requested orders to move his corps to another position. Lee wrote Washington (October 25, in the *Washington Papers*): "My friend got safe into New York. He was before Sir Henry Clinton and passed all the forms of the garrison. He accidentally met Col. Arnold in the street which has paved a natural way for further acquaintance. The party entertain high hopes of success...I informed Mr. Baldwin, that I was under orders to march south..." Champe's attempt failed through no fault of his. For Lee's account of the exploit see *Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department*, by Henry Lee.

***To GEORGE MASON**

Head Quarters, Passaic Falls, October 22, 1780.

Dear Sir: In consequence of a resolve of Congress directing an enquiry into the conduct of Genl. Gates, and authorising me to appoint some other Officer in his place during this enquiry, I have made choice of Majr. Genl. Greene who will, I expect, have the honor of presenting you with this Letter.

I can venture to introduce this Gentn. to you as a man of abilities bravery and coolness. He has a comprehensive knowledge of our affairs, and is a man of fortitude and resources. I have not the smallest doubt therefore, of his employing all the means which may be put into his hands to the best advantage; nor of his assisting in pointing out the most likely ones to answer the purposes of his

command. With this character, I take the liberty of recommending him to your civilities and support; for I have no doubt, from the embarrassed situation of Southern affairs; of his standing much in need of the latter from every Gentn. of Influence in the Assemblies of those States.

As General Greene can give you the most perfect information, in detail of our present distresses, and future prospects, I shall content myself with giving the agregate acct.

of them; and with respect to the first, they are so great and complicated, that it is scarcely within the powers of description to give an adequate idea of them; with regard to the second, unless there is a material change both in our military, and civil policy, it will be in vain to contend much longer.

We are without money, and have been so for a great length of time, without provision and forage except what is taken by Impress; without Cloathing; and shortly shall be (in a manner) without Men. In a word, we have lived upon expedients till we can live no longer, and it may truly be said that, the history of this War is a history of false hopes, and temporary devices, instead of System, and œconomy which results from it.

If we mean to continue our struggles (and it is to be hoped we shall not relinquish our claim) we must do it upon an entire new plan. We must have a permanent force; not a force that is constantly fluctuating and sliding from under us as a pedestal of Ice would do from a Statue in a Summers day. Involving us in expence that baffles all calculation, an expence which no funds are equal to. We must at the same time contrive ways and means to aid our Taxes by Loans, and put our finance upon a more certain and stable footing than they are at prest. Our Civil government must likewise undergo a reform, ample powers must be lodged in Congress as the head of the Federal Union, adequate to all

the purposes of War. Unless these things are done, our efforts will be in vain, and only serve to accumulate expence, add to our perplexities, and dissatisfy the people without a prospect of obtaining the prize in view. but these Sentimts. do not appear well in a hasty letter, without digestion or order. I have not time to give them otherwise; and shall only assure you that they are well meant, however crude they may appear. With sincere Affectn. and esteem etc.⁶⁵

TO JOHN MATHEWS

Hd. Qrs., Passaic falls, October 23, 1780.

My Dear Sir: I have received your letter of the 14th.⁷⁵ and shall with the greatest pleasure apply to Sir Henry Clinton for

65. Washington has entered at the close of this letter: "N B. The same sentemts. were also written at the same time to Archad. Cary. Benja. Harrison. Edd. Pendleton, and Barthw. Dandridge Esqrs. of Virginia."

75. "My situation here is truly distressing, I have no dependence, but on an empty treasury for my support, and when the little money I have left, is exhausted, I know not where I am to apply for more. Although the duties of my station demand of me to undergo every species of inconvenience and distress, yet I don't think I can with any degree of propriety impose the same task on her."—*Mathews to Washington*, Oct. 14, 1780. Mathews's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

the permission you wish for Mrs. Mathews, the moment the Board of War make their application for the vessel.⁷⁶ As I have heard nothing concerning this from them, I presume it is not done, and before it is, the other request would be premature. I shall be happy if any thing on my part can promote your wishes in an article so interesting to yourself and family; and of this I beg you to assure Mrs. Mathews with my respects.

Your Southern affairs wear a most disagreeable aspect and prove more and more the necessity of renouncing that feeble system, which has brought this Country to so perplexing a crisis. If there were any hope of our councils assuming that complexion, which the exigency demands, the progress of the enemy at this period would seem to me an advantage rather than an evil; for they have not a stamina of force sufficient for such extensive conquests, and by spreading themselves out as they are now doing, they will render themselves vulnerable every where. But I see no chance of the change we stand in need of, and therefore, I fear they will realize their acquisitions.

You have your wish in the officer appointed to the Southern command; I think I am giving you a General; but what can a General do, without men, without arms, without cloathing, without stores, without provisions?

Lees corps will also go to the Southward. I believe it will be found very useful. The corps itself is an excellent one and the officer at the head of it has great resources

76. Mrs. Mathews was obliged to return to South Carolina.

of genius. With the truest regard etc.⁷⁷

To MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE

October 30, 1780.

It is impossible my Dear Marquis to desire more ardently than I do to terminate the campaign by some happy stroke; but we must consult our means rather than our wishes; and not endeavour to better our affairs by attempting things, which for want of success may make them worse. We are to lament that there has been a misapprehension of our circumstances in Europe; but to endeavour to recover our reputation, we should take care that we do not injure it more.

Ever since it became evident that the allied arms could not cooperate with this campaign, I have had an eye to the point you mention,²⁵ determined if a favourable opening should offer to embrace it; but so far as my information goes, the enterprise would not be warranted. It would in my opinion be imprudent to throw an Army of ten thousand men

77. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton; the date line is in that of Washington.

25. An attack upon New York City.

upon an Island against Nine thousand, exclusive of seamen and militia. This from the accounts we have appears to be the enemy's force. All we can therefore do at present is to endeavour to gain a more certain knowledge of their situation and act accordingly. This I have been some time employed in doing but hitherto with little success. I shall thank you for any aids you can afford. Arnold's flight seems to have frightened all my intelligencers out of their senses. I am etc.²⁶

To THE CHEVALIER DU BOUCHET⁵¹

[October 1780.]

Sir: I have been made happy by the receipt of your Letter of the 28th. of September, and regret that I had not an opportunity at Hartford, of assuring you personally of my esteem. Confirmed by what I have seen myself, in the high Opinion of his abilities and personal qualities, with which

the reputation of the Count De Rochambeau had impressed me, I learn with peculiar pleasure, his obliging partiality for me; and my satisfaction is compleat in the assurance you give me, that your army in general participate in his sentiments. They have too

26. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

Lafayette's letter of Oct. 30, 1780, to which this is a reply, is not now found among the *Washington Papers*. It is printed, however, by Sparks, vol. 7, P. 558.

51. Denis Jean Florimond Langlois de Montheville, Chevalier du Bouchet. He was deputy adjutant general of the French Army in America.

much merit not to possess all my esteem. The zeal with which they came to the succour of this country, and their good conduct since will be a new cement of the alliance. Every day brings me fresh proofs of the growing affection and admiration of the inhabitants who are witnesses to it. I hope another Campaign will be more favourable to their wishes than the past and will reward them with those laurels and with that glory, which I am persuaded they will deserve.

I beg my compliments to Cols. Fleury and Du Plessis, with every assurance of my friendship. With great consideration etc.⁵²

***To EDMUND RANDOLPH**

Hd. Qrs. Passaic Falls, November 7, 1780.

Dr. Sir: The Inclosed will make the third letter I have written to Mr. Nicholas within twelve Months upon an interesting matter to Colo. Fairfax, without receiving any answer. As I am convinced a miscarriage of my letters, and not inattention in him is the cause of it, I take the liberty

52. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

of addressing the inclosed to your care; and shall thank you for the bare acknowledgement of it.

At this moment, we are in a disagreeable state of suspense respecting the military operation's to the Southward; having heard almost in the same breath, that Leslie had made a landing in Virginia (in more than one place) and [had] re-imbarked with precipitation, owing it is said, to the retreat of

Lord Cornwallis; which is again attributed to a considerable force of French or Spanish Troops having Landed in his rear. A confirmation of these reports wholly, or in part, would be very acceptable.

The military harvest which the early part of this Campaign promised to yield us has vanished as the morning dew. leaving not a trace behind it, but disappointment and sorrow and the recollection of past distresses. Congress, at length, have resolved to do that, which an adoption of four years ago, would 'ere this have put an end to the War and left us in peace under our own vines and fig trees. I mean the raising of an Army for the War; but *now* there are wanting many concomitants to bring about this event; among which, placing our finance upon a proper footing is not the least difficult.

The Wisdom of the States, and all their exertions should be called forth to effect these great ends; for well convinced I am, till we get an army for the War, and proper funds to support it we never shall obtain an honourable Peace;

but must sink under the Expenditure of temporary enlistments. and the attendant evils.

I should be glad to know if a letter of mine, to you, dated the 12th. of April last,³⁹ on the affairs of Colonel Mercer and his mortgages ever reached your hands? and if it did what has been done in consequence of it? My best respects to Mrs. Randolph. With much truth and Affection I am etc.

***To ROBERT CARTER NICHOLAS**

Hd. Qrs., Passaic Falls, November 7, 1780.

Dear Sir: As I am persuaded that the letters, of which the inclosed are copies, never reached your hands, I take the liberty of forwarding a duplicate of the last, and triplicate of the first, with the Inclosures it refers to.

Since mine of March to you, I have been favoured with a third letter from our good friend Colo. Fairfax, copy of which I also send; and should be happy in knowing that you had accepted the appointment he mentions, in order that I might direct all his Papers to be carefully packed up, and

39. Not now found in the *Washington Papers*.

sent to you.

I hope, I trust, that no act of Legislation in the State of Virginia has affected, or can affect, the property of this Gentn. otherwise than in common with that of every good, and well disposed Citizen of America. It is a well known fact that his departure for England was not only antecedent to the present rupture with Great Britain, but before there was the most distant prospect of a serious dispute with that Country, and if it is necessary to adduce proof of his attachment to the interests of America since his residence there and of the aid he has given to many of our distressed Countrymen in that Kingdm. abundant instances may be produd. not only by the Gentn. alluded to in his letter of Decr. 5th. 1779, but by others that are known to me, and on whm. justice to Colo. Fairfax will make it necessary to call, if occasion should require the facts to be ascertd.

About the time of my writing to you in March last, I communicated the contents of Colo. Fairfax's Letter of the 3d. of Augt. 1778 to Colo. Lewis, and received for answer, that the bad state of his health would render it impossible for him to discharge the trust Colo. Fairfax wished to repose in you or him in a manner agreeable to himself and therefore could not think of engaging in it if you (to whom I informed him I had written) should decline it. but he recommended in case of yr. refusal Mr. Frans. Whiting (the former manager of Colls. Henry and William Fitzhughs Estate)

as a person most likely, in his opinion, to discharge the trust with punctuality.

My best respects attend your Lady and family, and with great esteem and regard I am etc.

***To LIEUTENANT COLONEL JOHN LAURENS**

Hd. Qrs. Passaic falls, November 12, 1780.

My dear Laurens: A Letter of yours dated Octobr (but which I believe ought to have been Novr.) the 6th. came to my hands last Evening. Every fresh assurance of your personal regard and attachment to me, gives me pleasure.

The motives which led you to the Southward are too laudable, and too important not to meet my approbation. In that, or any other quarter in which you may act, my best wishes for your health preservation and glory will accompany you, being with sincere regard and Affectn. etc.

To REVEREND WILLIAM SMITH⁹⁵

[Hd. Qrs., Passaic Falls, November 15, 1780.]

I am particularly indebted to you Sir, for the obliging manner in which you have executed the trust reposed in you by the American Philosophical Society. An excuse for the little delay that attended it could have only found a motive in your politeness.

All the circumstances of the election are too flattering not to enhance the honor I feel in being distinguished by the fellowship of a society so eminently respectable.

I warmly unite with you in the wish that the happy period may speedily arrive which will enable all the members to devote themselves to advancing the objects of this most useful institution. I am etc.⁹⁶

***To PRESIDENT JOSEPH REED**

Head Quarters, Passaic Falls, November 20, 1780.

Dr. Sir: Your favor of the 15th. is just come to

95. Dr. William Smith. He was secretary of the American Philosophical Society and wrote Washington (November 11): "I have the Honor herewith to transmit to you the Certificate or Diploma of your Election into the American Philosophical Society; which ought to have been made out at the Time of its Date. As this business, viz the preparing the Draft (which was to be a special one) and getting' it engross'd, lay upon the then acting Secretary, it is my Duty to make an Apology for the Delay; and to assure your Excellency that it proceeded only from a Desire to have it executed in the Manner which might do the greatest Honor to the Society." Smith's letter is in the *Washington Papers*. The certificate of membership is also in the *Washington Papers*.

96. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

hand. I cannot suffer myself to delay a moment in pronouncing, if Arnold by the Words (in his letter to his wife) "I am treated with the greatest politeness by General Washington and the Officers of the Army who bitterly execrate Mr. Reed and the Council for their villainous attempt to injure me" meant to comprehend me in the latter part of the expression that he asserted an absolute falsehood. It was at no time my inclination, much less my intention to become a party in his cause; and I *certainly* could not be So lost to my own character as to become a partizan at the moment I was called upon, *Officially* to bring him to tryal. I am not less mistaken, if he has not extended the former part of the

paragraph a *little* too far. True it is, he self envited some civilities I never meant to shew him (or any Officer in arrest) and he received rebuke before I could convince him of the impropriety of his entering upon a justification of his conduct in my presence, and for bestowing such illiberal abuses as he seem'd disposed to do, upon those whom he denominated his persecutors. Although you have done me the justice to disbelieve Arnolds assertions to his Wife a regard to my own feelings and character claims a declaration of the falsehood of it, from Dr. Sir etc.³⁹

39. At this point in the draft the following is crossed off: "I shall take proper occasion to speak of the contents of Genl. Schuylers lettr. to Arnold; from my best recollection and a recurrence to circumstances about the first of June, I am perswaded that my last letter on this subject not only contained the substance, but the identical answer which was given by me to the application. It is possible I might have said, that I looked upon Genl. Arnold as a brave and enterprizing Officer."

***To JOHN SULLIVAN**

Head Quarters, Passaic Falls, November 20, 1780.

Dr. Sir: You have obliged me very much by your friendly letter of the 12th., and I can assure you that I shall be very happy in a continuation of them. You are too well acquainted with my course of business to expect frequent, or long letters from me, but I can truely say that I shall write to none with more pleasure, when it is in my power to write at all, than I shall do to you.

The determination of Congress to raise an Army for the War, and the honorable establishment on which the Officers are placed will, I am perswaded, be productive of much good. Had the first measure been adopted four, or even three years ago, I have not the smallest doubt in my mind, but that we should at this day have been sitting under our vines and fig trees in the full enjoyment of Peace and Independence, and I have as little doubt that the value which I trust Officers will now set upon their Commissions will prove the surest basis of public Oeconomy. 'Twas idle to expect that Men who were suffering every species of present distress with the prospect of inevitable ruin before them could bear to have the cord of discipline strained to its proper tune, and where that is not the case it is no difficult matter to form an idea of the want of order; or to

convince Military men of its consequent evils.

It is to be lamented that the call upon the States for specific Supplies should come at this late hour, because it is much to be feared that before those at a distance can be furnished with the resolves and make their arrangements, the Season for Salting Provision will be irretrievably lost; and this

leads me to a remark which I could wish never to make. It is, that the multiplicity of business in which Congress are engaged will not let them extend that seasonable and provident care to many matters which private convenience and public œconomy indispensably call for; and proves, in my opinion, the evident necessity of committing more of the executive business to small boards, or responsible characters than is practiced at present for I am very well convinced that for want of system in the execution of business and a proper timing of things, that our public expenditures are inconceivably greater than they ought to be. Many instances might be given in proof, but I will confine myself to the article of Cloathing as we are *feelingly* reminded of it.

This, instead of being ready in the Fall for delivery, is then to be provided, or to be drawn from the Lord knows whither; and after forcing many Soldiers from the field for want of it, is eked out at different periods as it can be had through the winter, till Spring; and in such a piece-meal way, that the Soldr. derivg. little comfort from it is

hurt both in appearance and pride while the recruiting Service is Greatly injured by it. Was this the result of necessity, not a word would be said; but it is the effect of a dividd. attentn. or over much business for at the period of the extreme suffering of the Army, we can hear of Cloathing in different places falling a prey to moth, and cankerworms of a worse kind; and I am much mistaken too, if the Cloathing System (if ours can be called a System) does not afford a fruitful field for stock-jobbing &ca.

It may be asked what remedy I would apply to these evils? In my opinion there is a plain and easy one. It will not I acknowledge give relief to our immediate and pressing wants no more than order can succeed confusion in a moment, but as both must have a beginning: Let Congress without delay (for this is the season to be lookg. forwd. to the Supplies for another year) employ some eminent Merchant of approved integrity and abilities to import (in his own way) *Materials* for the annual cloathing of Officers and Men agreeably to estimates to be furnished by the Cloathier General; Or if *they* prefer it, let these imports be made by a Committee of their own body. When a stock is once obtained, discontinue all Continental Agents and State Agents for Continental purposes and confine the business of Cloathing the Army wholly to the Importer, Clothier Genl., and Regimental Cloathiers; this would be easy and simple, and would soon extricate that department from those embarrassments, and impositions which have a tendency to distress

individuals and load the public with an enormous expence.

At present we do not know where, or to whom to apply. I have made the distresses of the Army known to Congress, the Board of War and the States Individually without learning from whence the

supplies are to come and can without the aid of a perspective see a very gloomy prospect before us this Winter on the Score of Cloathing.

I have two reasons for preferring the Materials for Cloathing to ready made Cloaths; first because I think we can have them made by the Regimental Taylors to fit each Man, and to suit the fashion of each Regiment. And secondly because the Materials will always be a more ready Sale if Peace takes place and the Troops are disbanded than ready made Cloaths, they wd. attract less notice too at the places of Export. Another question may arise here; where are the means? Means must be found or the Soldiers go naked: but I will take the liberty in this place to give it as my opinion that a foreign loan is indispensably necessary to the continuance of the War. Congress will deceive themselves if they imagine that the Army, or a State that is the theatre of War can rub through a second Campaign as the last. It would be as unreasonable as to suppose that because a man had rolled a Snow-ball 'till it had acquired the size of a horse that he might do so till it was as large as a House. Matters may be pushed to a certain point, beyond which we cannot move them. Ten Months pay is now

due to the Army. Every departmt. of it is so much indebted that we have not credit for a single Express; and some of the States are harrassed and oppressed to a degree beyond bearing. To depend, under these circumstances, upon the resources of the Country, unassisted by foreign loans will I am confident, be to lean on a broken Reed.

The situation of the Southern States is very embarrassing and I wish it was in my power to afford them relief in the way you have mention'd, but it is not. The very measure *you* suggest I urged as far as decency and policy would permit me to do at the Interview at Hartford, but to no effect. I cannot be more particular on this subject, and what I now say, is in confidence.⁴⁰

The report of Sir Henry Clinton's going to the Southward was groundless and I believe few Troops have left New York since those under Leslie. I set out with telling you, I could not write long letters, but have ended with a flat contradiction of it. I am etc.

To ARTHUR LEE

[Hd Qrs. Passaic Falls, November 20, 1780.]

Sir: I am much obliged to you for the

40. "I beg leave to Submit to your Excellencys considerations whether it would not be prudent to order the French Fleet to Boston where they may Lay in Safety and call the French Army to head

Quarters? Will not this cause Sir Henry to tremble for New York and Deminish the force if not Totally prevent the Blow meditated against the Southern States."— *Sullivan to Washington*, Nov. 12, 1780. Sullivan's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

suggestion which you do me the favour to make in your Letter of the 11th, as I shall at all times be for any others which may occur to you advance of the public service.

I am so entirely convinced of the absolute necessity of a large and immediate foreign aid of money, to the continuance of the war, that I should be happy to do any thing I could with propriety to promote it. I impart to you in confidence, that I have in the most explicit manner given my sentiments on this head to the Minister of France here; and if my Opinion can have any influence with the Court of Versailles, I imagine it will be known through this channel. A more direct communication might appear an intrusion and an interference in matters out of my province. I am happy to hear Congress have this important object under consideration.

I persuade myself they will urge it with all the emphasis in their power and in the form most likely to succeed. If there should be any thing by which I could contribute to the success of the application, I should certainly think it my duty to give all the aid in my power.

I have the honor to be etc.⁴¹

41. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton, The date line is in the writing of Washington.

***To JOHN SULLIVAN**

Hd. Qrs., Passaic Falls, November 25, 1780.

Dr Sir: This letter will be presented to you by the Chevr. De Chattelleaux a Majr. Genl. in the French Service; A Gentn. of polite and easy manners, and of literary as well as military abilities.

I intended in my last (but having spun my letter to an enormous length deferred it) to have observed that as [Congress had made one or two late promotions from Brigadiers to Major Generals, apparently on the principle of a state proportion, (which by the way if made a general rule I am persuaded will be found hurtful) an idea has occurred to me, that possibly from the same principle on a future occasion, one might take place which would be particularly injurious; I mean with respect to General Knox, Generals] Parsons and [Clinton have been superseded by Smallwood. Parson's] is since restored to his Rank. [Except Clinton Knox now stands first on the list. If from the consideration

I have mentioned or from his being at the head of the artillery he should be overlooked, and a younger officer preferred, he will undoubtedly quit the service; and you know his usefulness too well not to be convinced this would be an injury difficult to be repaired. I do not know all things considered, who could replace him in his department. I am sure if a question of this

kind should be agitated when you were present, this intimation would be unnecessary to induce you to interpose; but lest you should be absent at the time, I think it would be adviseable to apprise some other members in whom you have confidence to guard against it.] for sores occd. by irregular promotions or mistakes, tho they may afterwards receive a plaister does not always meet a cure but proves that inattention or want of information was the cause of the wound.

If the sentiments containd in my letter to Congress of this date respecting the Inspectorate department are happy enough to coincide with yours I have no doubt of your giving them a proper support. To me it appears a matter of importance to keep the present Inspectors in office, and sure I am, that it is the true interest and policy of Congress to make these Offices more the object of desire by the Officers who fill them than of favor from them; in the one case the duties will be discharged properly. In the other they may be slighted or not executed at all. The additional pay necesy. to make it adeqe. to the trouble and confinemt. incident to the Office would be very trifling, and the future one nothing as they will not burthen the half pay list, being Officers in the line and receiving half pay accordingly and no other. With great esteem etc.⁸⁸

88. The parts in brackets are in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

[Head Qrs., November 27, 1780.]

[Sir]: I have the honor to introduce to Your Excellency The Chevalier De Cha[tellux] Major General in the French army. I was happy in the opportunity which his journey this way afforded me of making the acquaintance of a Gentleman as eminent in the literary world as distinguished for military merit and for the social qualities. The personal knowledge I have acquired of him confirms me in the sentiments with which his reputation had impressed me, and induces me to recommend him particularly to Your Excellency's esteem. I have the honor etc.⁹³

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

[Head Qrs, November 27, 1780.]

[Sir]: I have the honor to introduce to Your Excellency's acquaintance the Vis-count DeNoailles,⁹⁵ Colonel in the French army. You will find in him an officer of distinction, a

93. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton. The words in brackets are in the writing of Washington.

95. Louis Marie vicomte de Noailles, Brother-in-law of Lafayette; mestre de camp en second du regiment colonel-general hussards; mestre de camp en second of the Regiment Soissonnais, 1780.

Gentleman who possesses those talents and qualities which ornament birth and fortune, who has besides the advantage of being allied to the Marquis De la Fayette, and participates in the same zeal for the service of America. I have the honor etc.⁹⁶

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Hd. Qrs, November 27, 1780.]

Sir: I have the honor to introduce to Your acquaintance [the Count de Damas],⁹⁷ a Capt, in the guards of the King of France and Aide De Camp to the Count De Rochambeau. He is Gentleman of the first distinction in his country, and to great personal merit adds warm zeal for the service of America, which cannot fail to recommend him to your Excellency's particular esteem and attentions. I have the honor etc.⁹⁸

96. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton. The words in brackets are in the writing of Washington.

97. Charles François Louis Joseph César, Comte de Damas. He was captain in the Regiment du Roi; colonel and aide to Rochambeau; mestre de camp of the Regiment du Roi in 1782.

98. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton. The words in brackets are in the writing of Washington.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

[Hd Qrs, November 27, 1780.]

[Sir]: The Chevalier Du Plessis, who will have the honor of delivering you this, if not known to yr. Excellency personally is at least known to you by reputation. After having distinguished himself as an American officer he is now returned in the French army to give new proofs of his zeal and attachment to our cause. Titles like these, I am persuaded will sufficiently recommend him to your Excellency. I have the honor etc.²

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, New Windsor, December 7, 1780.

Sir: I have the honour of introducing to your Excellency the Count de Custine⁴⁴ a Brigadier General in the Army of France, and who is warmly recommended to me by the Count de Rochambeau. This Gentleman's Rank, exclusive of the amiable and valuable qualities which he is said to possess, intitles

2. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton. The words in brackets are in the writing of Washington.

44. Adam Philippe, Comte de Custine Sarreck. He was brigadier general of cavalry and colonel, Regiment Saintonge, French Army in America.

him to that polite attention which I am confident he will receive from your Excellency. I have the honor etc.⁴⁵

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, New Windsor, December 7, 1780.

Sir: I have the honor to introduce to your Excellency the Marquis de Laval⁴⁶ a Colonel in the French Army. This Gentleman is of the Family of Montmorenci, the most illustrious in France, which alone

would intitle him to every mark of respect, did not his personal good qualities and the Zeal with which he has sought the American service give him a further claim to our attentions. I am convinced Your Excellency will receive him in a manner suited to his merit and his Birth. I have the honor etc.⁴⁵

To SUNDRY GENTLEMEN IN VIRGINIA

New Windsor, December 8, 1780.

Dr. Sir: I have the pleasure of introducing to your

45. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

46. Anne Alexandre Marie Sulpice Josef, Duc de Montmorency Laval. He was mestre de camp and commandant of the Regiment Bourbonnais.

acquaintance the Marquis de la Fayette a Majr. Genl. in the American Army and an Officr. of rank in those of France. This Gentns. family, Fortune and illustrious connexions are alone sufficient to entitle him to our highest esteem and respect but when the obligation which America is under to him for his early attachment to her rights; his great zeal in, and powerful support of her cause are known, I am perswaded it will give you pleasure to shew him every civility in your power.

It is probable he may be accompanied by his Brother in law the Count de Noailles, and Count de Damas, two Gentn. of Family fortune and Rank in the French Army at Rhode Island whose zeal to serve America leads them to make a Southern Campaign this Winter, if they can obtain permission of the Count de Rochambeau Commanding the French Army at Rhode Island; should this event take place I beg leave to recommend them also to your attention. With much esteem etc.⁵⁴

***To MAJOR GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE**

New Windsor, December 13, 1780.

Dear Sir: It gives me much pleasure to hear, that

54. Practically this same letter was also sent to Gov. Thomas Sim Lee, of Maryland, the original of which is in the Chapin Library, Williamstown, Mass. The same letter also as that to Governor Lee was sent to Governor Jefferson, of Virginia. It is in the *Jefferson Papers* in the Library of Congress.

my letters of introduction were serviceable to you. I am perswaded there is not wanting a disposition in Congress, or the individual States to the Southward to afford you every support the unhappy state of our finance (which seems to be the source from whence flows all our difficulties) will admit; but if any thing in my power can give a spring to their exertions, every motive which can flow from public and private considerations will urge me to comply with yr. wishes.

You have no doubt an arduous task in hand, but where is the man charged with conducting public business in these days of public calamity that is exempt from it? Your difficulties I am perswaded are great; they may be insurmountable; but you see them now through a different medium than you have ever done before, because the embarrassment of every department is now concentrated or combined in the Commanding Officer; exhibiting at one view a prospect of our complicated distresses.

Your friends, and the great public, expect every thing from your abilities that the means which may be put into your hands are competent to; but both know full well the deranged situation of our Southern Affairs, and neither, I trust, are so unreasonable as to expect impossibilities; I therefore think that you have nothing to apprehend on the score of public dissatisfaction. on the contrary, that you may gain, but cannot lose in your military reputation.

I will put your letter under a cover to Mrs. Greene and request her to make use of the same channel of conveyance back. I shall take much pleasure in forwarding the letters to and from her, and think it the best medium of conveyance for safety. I have the pleasure to inform you that I heard by Genl. Varnum (who went on to Congress yesterday) that Mrs. Greene and your family were well when he left Rhode Island. Genl. McDougall talks of setting out for Congress the beginning of next week, but if he reaches Phila. by the opening of next Campaign it will be as much as I expect from his dispatch.

We reached our Winter Qrs. about the beginning of this Month, and I have been driven, by necessity, to discharge the Levies. Want of cloathing rendered them unfit for duty, and want of Flour would have disbanded the whole army if I had not adopted this expedient for the relief of the Soldier for the War.

Without knowing that Colo. Hamilton ever had an Eye to the Office of Adj. General,⁵ I did, upon the application of Colo. Scammell to resign it, recommend Genl. Hand for reasons which may occur

to you; one of them (and not the smallest) was to guard (by having an Officer of Rank appointed) against the discontents which would have arisen in the Inspectorate department, if a Junr. Officer to the present SubInspectors had been appointed, for you know, that, by the present establishment of the Inspection the Adj. Genl. for the

5. Greene's letter to Washington (Nov. 19, 1780), in the *Washington Papers*, stated that he was "persuaded the appointment [of Hamilton] will be received with great gratitude, as I am confident it is his wish, by what he said to me before I left Camp."

time being, is the Second Officer in that line. It would have been disagreeable therefore to the present Sub-Inspectors some of whom are full Colonels to have had a Lt. Colo. put over them. With much sincerity etc.

***To MRS. NATHANAEL GREENE¹⁶**

New Windsor, December 15, 1780.

Dr. Madam: I have the pleasure to inclose you a letter from Genl. Greene which came under cover to me. I fear you will find it of old date, as the one accompanying it was of Novr. the 19th. since which I have not heard from him.

If you will entrust your letters to my care, they shall have the same attention paid to them as my own, and forwarded with equal dispatch to the Genl.

Mrs. Washington who is just arrived at these my Qrs. joins me in most cordial wishes for your every felicity; and regrets the want of your Company; remember us to my name sake.¹⁷ Nat,¹⁸ I suppose can handle a Musket. With every sentimt etc.

16. Formerly Catherine Littlefield, of Coventry, R. I.

17. George Washington Greene.

18. Nathaniel Ray Greene.

***To JOHN SULLIVAN**

New Windsor, December 17, 1780.

Dear Sir: Your letter of the 9th. is safe at hand, and propounds a question respecting promotion which I candidly acknowledge I am puzzled to answer, with satisfaction to myself.

If in all cases, ours was *one* Army, or *thirteen* Armies allied for the common defence, there would be no difficulty in solving your question; but we are occasionally both, and I should not be much out if I was to say that we are sometimes *neither* but a compound of *both* .

If we were considered in every point of view as one Army, lineal promotion, as well from as to the grade of Colonels, would, undoubtedly, be the most equitable and satisfactory mode of rising; and no possible objection could be made to it by any State, or the Troops of a State. Or, if Congress, having regard to the number of Troops which each State is to furnish to the Confederated Army were to allow the number of General Officer's which should be thought competent thereto; there would be no difficulty here neither; because the promotion would be lineal in each State; and though it might fall hard upon the Colonels of Such States as only furnish one regiment for Continental Service, it would be incidental to their State quotas and must be submitted to; as the annexation of their Regiments to other State Troops, also must

be, to form Brigades.

But it is our having no *fixed* principle that I know of, and sometimes acting upon one, and then the other of the cases before mentioned (as it happens to suit an individual State, or particular characters) that creates our difficulties and the discontents that prevail.

It is well known, that in the early stages of this War I used every means in my power to destroy all kind of State distinctions, and laboured to have every part and parcel of the Army considered as Continental; the steps which have led to a different sentiment, and to our present system of politics, you are not to be informed of. we must take things as they are.

And therefore, under the ideas that prevail and our *general* practice; I am, though puzzled, more inclin'd to let all promotions be lineal, in each State, to the rank of Brigadr. inclusive, (where there is more than one Regiment) than to any other mode; because it is more consonant to the expectation of the Army than any other; and because under it, I believe a new appointed Brigr. from the Southern Troops would at this day, be disagreeable to an Eastern Brigade, and vice, versa. How far State promotion's beyond the Rank of Brigadrs. are eligible or not, is a matter on which much may

be said, on both sides. On the one hand, it may be urged, that the State which sends more than a Brigade into the Field has as

good a right to accompany them with a Majr. Genl. as the midling State has to furnish a Brigr., or the smallest a Colo., because neither has more than its due proportion of Officers. On the other hand, it may be observed, that as Officers advance in rank, and acquire that general knowledge which is necessary to qualify them for extensive command, their feelings are more hurt, and the Service more injured by placing juniors over them, than when it happens to inferiors, though the same principle which bars the rise of a Colo. where there is but one regiment, will apply to a Brigadr. where the State only furnishes a Brigade. At prest. we want no new Majr. Generals (having rather a Surplusage); but may not the following expedient answer in future, at least in a degree, the views of *all* namely to suffer the larger States to have Major Genls. of their own line, proportioned to the Number of their Troops; and the other Majr. Genls. to be promoted from Brigadiers according to Seniority. This, at the same time that it yields compliance to the views of the large States, does not preclude the Brigadiers of the smaller from promotion, as there must be Major Generals for seperate Comds, for the Wings of the Army, &ca. wch. cannot be supplied by the State quota's of Troops where there is not more than a just proportion of Officers to Men.

Our present mode of promotion is Regimentally to Cpts, inclusively; and in the Line of the State afterwards; but I am convinced, as well from the reason and justice of the

thing, as from several conversations I have held with some of the most judicious Officers of the Army that it would be more agreeable to it, that all promotion should be lineal, instead of Regimental, in every State line; for which reasons I shall recomd. the measure to Congr; to take place with the New Establishmt. of the Army.

What I have here said with respect to promotion, is general; but there is a case before me, in the Jersey line, which makes me wish that Congress would fix their principle. This State has three Regiments which are to be reduced to two. Dayton is the Senr. Colonel, and among the oldest of that rank in the whole Army; a valuable Officer, and does not want to leave the Service. Shreve is the next oldest Colo. in Jersey and *will not* go out; his character you are as well acquainted with as I am. Ogden is the Youngest, and extremely desirous of staying, but cannot continue if Colo. Dayton remains in Service, in his *present* rank; the matter therefore (as it is related to me) is brought to this Issue, that Dayton or Ogden is to go out, unless the former can be promoted; which would remove every difficulty, and be agreeable to the prest. System of State policy, as there is no Genl. Officer in that line; but if the promotion is delayed till after the first of Jany. or in other words till after Dayton

or Ogden is deranged, the remedy will come too late. because we shall have sent out a valuable Officer upon half pay, and will, if Dayton is the person that

goes, have a person to promote who, but here I drop the curtain. It may suffice to say, that if the State of New Jersey is to be allowed a Brigr., it ought to be granted them before the first of January, for more reasons than that of œconomy.

That you may have some data to judge of the propriety of New appointments, I shall take the liberty of observing, that the States from New Hampshire to Pensylvania inclusively, with Hazens Regimt, make by the last requisition 29 Battalions of Infantry. That three of these Batts. according to the present establishmt. of the Army, will make as large a Brigade as four of the old, and that, the number of Brigadiers in the States here mention'd, amount, at this time, to no more than Eight viz: Starke of N. Hampshire; Glover and Patterson if Massachusetts; Huntington of Connecticut; Clinton of New York, and Wayne, Hand, and Irvine of Pensylva.; and these may be reduced to Seven, if Hand should be placed in the Staff.

I am most firmly of opinion, that after the States have brought their Troops into the Field, the less they have to do with them, or their supplies of Cloathing &ca. &ca. the bettr. it will be for the commn. Interest, for reasons which manifest themselves more and more every day, and for the clearest evidence of public œconomy. I am etc.

To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Head Quarters, New Windsor, December 19, 1780.

Sir: I do myself the honor of introducing to your Excellency the Viscount de Noiaelles⁴⁵ and the Count de Damas, who intend to make a tour to the Northward on their return to the Army at Newport. They are both Gentlemen of very particular Merit and of the first Rank in their Nation. I therefore recommend them in the warmest manner to your Excellency's attention. They are accompanied by the Chevalier du Plessis of the French Artillery with whom you are probably acquainted, as he served a considerable time in this Country with great reputation. I recommend him likewise to Your Excellencys Civilities. I have the honor etc.⁴⁶

***To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES CLINTON**

Head Qrs. New Windsor, December 19, 1780.

Dear Sir: I have the pleasure of introducing to you the Chevr. de Chattelleaux⁴⁷ Majr. Genl. in the French Army, and the Viscount de Noailles and the Count Damas who

45. Louis Marie, vicomte de Noailles.

46. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

47. Chastellux.

are anxious to see the Northern Frontier of New York, and may perhaps go as far as lake George. As they are Gentlemen of the first rank in France, I would wish every attention paid to them. You will be pleased to offer them an escort if they incline to go beyond Saratoga, and will recommend them to persons on whom they may confide as guides, or for any assistance of which they may stand in need. I am etc.⁴⁸

***To BENJAMIN FRANKLIN**

Hd. Qrs., New Windsor, December 20, 1780.

Sir: A few days since, by the Chevr. De Chatteleaux, I had the honor to receive your favor of the 19th. of March introductory of him, and thank you for bringing me acquainted with a gentn. of his merit, knowledge, and agreeable manners. I spent several days very happily with him, at our Camp near the great Falls of Passaic in New Jerseys before the Army seperated for its cantonments, the principle of which is at West point in the vicinity of this place where I make my

48. The text is from a phostostat kindly furnished by Dr. A. S. Rosenbach, of New York City.

own Quarters.

Disappointed of the second division of French Troops; but more especially in the expected Naval superiority which was the pivot upon wch. every thing turned, we have been compelled to spend an inactive Campaign after a flattering prospect at the opening of it, and vigorous struggles to make it a decisive one on our part. Latterly we have been obliged to become Spectators of a succession of detachments from the Army at New York, in aid of Lord Cornwallis; while our Naval weakness, and

the political dissolution of a large part of our Army, puts it out of our power to counteract them at the Southward, or take advantage of them here.

The movements of Lord Cornwallis during the last Month or two have been retrograde; what turn the late reinforcements which have been sent to him may give to his Affairs, remains to be known. I have reinforced also, principally with Horse, but the length of the March is so much opposed to the measure, that evy. corps, in a greater or lesser degree, is ruined that encounters it.

I am happy however in assurg. you, that a better disposition never prevailed in the Legislatures of the several States than does at this time. The folly of temporary expedients are seen into and exploded, and vigorous efforts will be used to obtain a permanent Army, and carry on the War systematically, if the obstinacy of Great Britain should compel

us to continue it. We want nothing but the aid of a loan to enable us to put our Finance into a tolerable train. The Country does not want resources, but we the means of drawing them forth.

It is unnecessary for me to go into a more detail acct. of our affairs, as you are doubtless officially advised of every material occurrence. I shall therefore only add my Compliments to Mr. Adams, and the strongest assurances of being, With the greatest esteem etc.

***To JAMES DUANE**

New Windsor, December 26, 1780.

My dear Sir: I received with much thankfulness your confidential letter of the 9th. Instt.²⁸ and am greatly obliged by the affectionate expressions of personl. regard wch are contained in it. An unreserved communication of Sentiments, accompanying such information as you are at liberty to give, will ever be pleasing to me, and cannot fail of being useful, in this light I view, and value, your last letter; some parts of wch are new, agreeable and instructive, while that part of it wch. relates to the transactn. at the Ct. of V—is wonderfully astonishing.²⁹

28. In the *Washington Papers*.

29. Court of Versailles. "Speculators...not contented with the infinite Evils which they have entailed on their Country...have practiced their Arts on the Cabinet of France; and with such Success that one of our ministers received a formal Intimation that the Chevalier de la Luzerne would be instructed to remonstrate against the Act of the 18th of March as a violation of publick faith, and

an Injury to the trading part of that Nation which ought to be repaired. Mr. Adams has acquired Applause by a Memorial to Count de Vergennes on this Subject full of Good Sense and dignity....The Capital Figure which the french factors made in drawing on the Depreciation and their Avarice in striving to exact Specie for the nominal Sums of the Bills; when it is notorious that they raised the price of their Commodities in proportion to the current Exchange are exposed....I am perswaded that this Seasonable Representation will remove every prejudice, and prevent the Effects of an Attempt big with Ruin."— *Duane to Washington, Dec. 9, 1780. (See Wharton, Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States, 3, 805–844.)*

There are two things (as I have often declared) which in my opinion, are indispensably necessary to the well being and good Government of our public Affairs; these are, greater powers to Congress, and more responsibility and permanency in the executive bodies. If individual States conceive themselves at liberty to reject, or alter any act of Congress, which in a full representation of them, has been solemnly debated and decided on; it will be madness in us, to think of prosecuting the War. And if Congress suppose, that Boards composed of their own body, and always fluctuating, are competent to the great business of War (which requires not only close application, but a constant and uniform train of thinking and acting) they will most assuredly deceive themselves. Many, many instances might be adduced in proof of this, but to a mind as observant as yours there is no need to enumerate them. One however, as we *feelingly* experience it, I shall name. It is the want of cloathing, when I have every reason to be convinced that the expence wch. the Public is run to in this article would Cloath our Army as well as any Troops in Europe; in place of it, we have enumerable objects of distress. want.

Necessity alone can justify the present mode of obtaining supplies; for besides the hazard and difficulty we meet with in procuring them, I am well convinced, that the public is charged with dble. what it receives, and what it receives is doubly charged so expensive and precarious is the prest. System.

When the Army marched for Winter Quarters, I visited the Hospitals and back communication from Pensa. to this place. In the Neighbourhood of Pitts town, I fell in with a parcel of Cattle that were going to be slaughtered and Salted; and can assure you upon my honor, that besides being immensely poor, they were so small that I am convinced they would not average 175 lbs. the 4 nett quarters. some could not exceed One hundd. weight, and others were mere Calves. These pass by the head and the State, or States that furnish them, will have the reputation of supplying that Numbr. of Merchantable Bullocks, when the fact is, that next Summer a starving man wd. scarce eat the Beef they were about to put up after the Salt had extracted the little fat and juices that were in it; there were about 100 in the drove I saw, and my information extended to abt. 8 or 900 more of the

same kind, in the neighbourhood. I directed the Commissary to select the *best* for Salting, and let the others be eaten fresh, as it would be a waste of Salt, Barrels and time to put it up. I relate this as a matter coming under my own observation, many other instances of a similar nature might be given from information, but I avoid it.

This letter will accompany one to Congress on the subject of promotion. That of lineal, instead of Regimental, I am perswaded, as well from the opinions I have heard, as from the reason and nature of the thing; will be most consistt. with justice and most pleasing to each State line. With respect to the

rise of Colonels and promotion of General Officers, I have no wish to gratify, except that which I have expressed in my public letter of fixing some principle, to avoid discontent and the consequences which flow from it. Irregular promotion, unless there is obvious cause for it, is not only injurious in any Service, but in ours is derogatory of the dignity of Congress for the Officer who is superceded and afterwards restored, is hurt by the first act and does not feel himself obliged by the latter (considering it as an act of justice only); while the two acts stands as an undeniable proof on record, that there is an establishd principle wanting, or that there is a want of information, or a want of firmness in Congress to resist importunity because the restoring act, as I have obsd. is an incontestable proof of one or the other of these three things.

At present we are in no want of Major Generals, in this part of the Army at least; but while I am on the subject of promotion, and while the thing is in my mind, I will beg leave to mention, that if at any time hereafter, there should be a Brigr., junr. to Genl. Knox, promoted before him, he will be lost to the Service; tho' he should, thereafter, be restored to his place. I mention it because under the idea of State promotion he can never rise, and because I am well perswaded that the want of him at the head of the Artillery, would be irreparable.

I cannot conclude without mentioning the case of Lt. Colo. Smith as deserving of notice, if a

remedy can be applied. This Gentn. is of the remaining Sixteen Regiments, and through one of the oldest and (without disparagement to others) one of the best *Battalion* Officers of the whole line, must quit the Service without a chance of staying altho' he is extremely anxious to do so. He has, during the last Campaign, been in the Inspectorate department where I *think* he may still be continued in his present Rank without injury to any one, to his own satisfaction, and the public benefit, without locating his services to any particular Corps, but to be employed as circumstances may require.

Mrs. Washington, impressed with a grateful sence of your kind intention of accompanying her to Trenton, joins me in thanks for it, and complimts. to you. Mr. Tilghman (the only person of my family at this motor. with me) also prests. his compts. with every Sentimt. of estm. etc.

***To PHILIP SCHUYLER**

New Windsor, January 10, 1781.

Dear Sir: Your favor of the 5th. I have had the pleasure to receive. The event, which I have long dreaded would be the consequence of keeping the Army without pay, Cloathing, and (frequently without) Provision, has at length come to pass. On the Night of the first instant a general Mutiny of the Non Comd. and privates of the Pensyla. line (near Morristown) took place; in attempting to suppress which, some Officers lost their lives, and others got wounded, to little effect. The Mutineers Marched off in compact and regular order by Platoons, after possessing themselves of the Artillery and stripping the Magazine of its Stores; declaring it to be their intention to go to Congress, and demand a redress of their Grievances.

Genl. Wayne who Comd., and the Colonels R. Butlar and Stewart, after finding all authority and influence at an end, determined to keep with them and try lenitives; which, by what I can learn, they have practiced to as little effect as either of the other two. The line have halted at Princeton, discovering no inclination to go further; which has a bad aspect, as it is (to them) a favourable intermediate point between Congress and the enemy, and in that view very fit for their purpose²⁵ of negotiation.

Some powerful considerations, not proper

25. At this point the draft has the following crossed off; "One of their demand, as I am informed, is, that the Soldiers of 1776 and 7 shall be discharged."

to be communicated in a letter (liable to miscarriage) and the advice of the General Officers at this Post against the measure, strengthened by Governor Clinton's opinion, restrained my setting out for the revolted Troops upon the first notice I had of them. In five minutes I shall step into the Boat for West point, where I have appointed the commanding Officers of Corps to meet me²⁶ and think it very probable I shall proceed thence to Morristown, &ca.

Mrs. Washington thanks Mrs. Schuyler, as I do both of you, for your kind and friendly invitation to Albany; the distresses of the Army are too great anti complicated, for me to think of private gratifications. Our best wishes attend you, and all around your fireside, and I am etc.

PS. I have this instant receiv'd authentic informn. that the Mutineers have delivered up one of Sir Henry Clintons Emissary's (with his guide) charged with written propositions very favourable to the revolted Troops, tho witht. any intn. I am perswd. of fulfilling them. This is an unequivocal proof of their having no intention to go to the Enemy. A Comee. of Congress are with them.²⁷

26. "You will be pleased immediately to summon all the General Officer and the Colonels or Officers commanding the Regiments of the Imes under Your command to meet punctuality at ten O Clock to morrow morning at your quarters, I will be down myself by that time. You need not send to Colo. Hazen."— *Washington to Health*, Jan. 10, 1781. The original is in the Massachusettes Historical Society.

27. The committee consisted of John Sullivan, John Witherspoon, and John Mathews. They were appointed January 3. On January 5 Theodorick Bland and Samuel John Atlee were added.

To BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

New Windsor, January 15, 1781.

Dr. Sir: I have the honor of addressing this letter to you by Colonel Laurens, one of my Aide De Camps, whom Congress has been pleased to commission for particular purposes to the Court of Versailles.

Justice to the character of this Gentleman conspiring with motives of friendship will not permit me to let him depart without testifying to you the high opinion, I entertain of his worth as a citizen and as a soldier. You will find him a man of abilities, perfectly acquainted with our circumstances, and exemplary for his honor and candor. I can with pleasure add assurances of his attachment to you personally and of his perfect disposition to conform to his instructions by availing himself of your advice and assistance upon all occasions; and, with this conviction, I confidently take the liberty of recommending him to your friendship.

The present infinitely critical posture of our affairs, made it essential in the opinion of Congress to send from hence a person who had been eye-witness to their progress, and who was capable of placing them before the Court of France, in a more full and striking point of light; than was proper

or even practicable by any written communications. It was also judged of great importance that the person should be able to give a military view of them and to enter into military details and arrangements. The choice has fallen upon Col. Laurens as a Gentleman who unites all these advantages, and adds to them an integrity and an independence of character which render him superior to any spirit of party.

What I have said to him, I beg leave to repeat to you, that to me nothing appears more evident than that the period of our opposition will very shortly arrive, if our allies cannot afford us that effectual aid, particularly in money and in a naval superiority which are now solicited. Col Laurens is so fully possessed of my ideas of our situation and wants and has himself so thorough a knowledge of them that I should trouble you to no purpose by enlarging. You may place entire confidence in him and in the assurances that I am etc.⁵²

***To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS**

New Windsor, January 24, 1781

Sir: I have the honor to introduce to your

52. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton. The date line is in the writing of Washington.

Excellency's acq. the Count de Charlus⁸ Son to the Marqs. de Castres,⁹ present Minister of the Marine of France. This Gentleman's rank and amiable qualities are alone sufficient to entitle him to every mark of respect but when it is known that his zeal to promote the Cause of American freedom induced him to resign a Colonelship of Horse in France to serve as second Colonel of the Saintonge Regiment in this Country I am perswaded it is unnecessary to say more to recomd. him in the fullest manner to your Excellys. part. esteem and attention. I have the honr. etc.¹⁰

8. Armand Charles Augustine de la Croix, Comte de Charlus.

9. Charles Eugène Gabriel de la Croix, Marquis de Charlus.

10. In much briefer fashion Washington also wrote letters of introduction (January 24) to the President of Congress, introducing Baron Dillon and Monsieur Dumas.

***To CHEVALIER DE CHASTELLUX**

New Windsor, January 28, 1781.

Dear Sir: Accept my congratulation on your safe arrival at New Port in good health, after traversing so much of the American theatre of War, and my thanks for your obliging favor of the 12th. making mention thereof, and introductory of the Count de Charlus, whose agreeable countenance, alone, is a sufficient index to the amiable qualities of his Mind, and does not fail, at first view, to make favourable impressions on all who see him.

He spent a few days with us at Head

Qrs. and is gone to Philadelphia; accompanied by Count de Dillon. I parted with them yesterday at Ringwood, to which place I had repaired to be convenient to the suppression of a partial mutiny in the Jersey Troops at Pompton who (in imitation of those of Pensylvania) had revolted, and were in a state of disobedience to their Officers. This business was happily effected without bloodshed. Two of the principal actors were immediately executed on the spot and due subordination restored before I returned.

I wish I had expression equal to my feelings, that I might declare to you the high sense I have of, and the value I set upon, your approbation and friendship; it will be the wish and happiness of my life to merit a continuance of them, and to assure you upon all occasions of my admiration of your character and virtues, and of the sentiments of esteem etc.

***To LIEUTENANT COLONEL JOHN LAURENS**

New Windsor, January 30, 1781.

Dear Sir: Before this letter reaches Boston, you will, no doubt, have heard of the revolt of part of the Jersey line. I did not hesitate a moment upon the report of it, in

determining to bring the matter to a speedy issue, by adopting the most vigorous coercion; accordingly, a detachment Marched from the Posts below, and on the Morning of the 27th. surrounded their quarters and brought them, without opposition to unconditional Submission.

two of the principal Actors were immediately executed on the Spot, and the remainder exhibiting genuine signs of contrition, were forgiven.

Much praise is due to the detachment which marched to quell the insurgents; for its obedience, patience and perseverance in traversing the Highlands through Snow; Eighteen or twenty Inches deep; and its readiness to execute any order the emergency of the case should require.

Letters by the last Southern Post advise me of Arnolds having landed high up James River, Marching to Richmond, destroying a few public Stores, and a public Foundry, and then retiring to the place of his debarkation, since which I have heard nothing further of him. I am also advised, by Genl. Greene, that the detachment tinder the Command of Leslie had landed (on the 21st. Ult^o) at Charles Town; and was on its March to join Lord Cornwallis. that from the exhausted state of the Country about Charlottesburg, he had moved to his left, and had taken a position at a place called Checaws, on the East side of the River Pedee. his present circumstances, and future prospects are distressing, and gloomy. How loud are our calls from every quarter for a decisive Naval

superiority, and how might the enemy be crushed if we had it!

I have recollected (in addition to the memm. I gave you at Head Qrs.) a few articles, by the purchase of which you will oblige me. Tilghman has recovered of his Fever, but is very weak and low. We all unite in best Wishes for you, and I am etc.⁵³

53. The following memorandum, in the writing of Washington, accompanies the above letter:

"Colonel Laurens will be so good as to bring the following things for Genl. Washington.

"A travelling Razor case with every thing compleat; to be strong, portable, and compendious. Leather perhaps would be best. A vest pocket reconnoiterer, or Telescope. A very small ease of pocket Instruments containing a Scale, dividers &ca. A good Saddle, bridle and furniture (excluding Pistols) fit for a republican General. A Watch string. 2 Dozn. dishes sized 4 dozn. Soup and 8 dozn. Shallow Plates Of Tin or something very light for the Field."

***To ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON**

New Windsor, January 31, 1781.

Dear Sir: The disagreeable events wch. have taken place in the Pennsylvania and Jersey lines, the general discontent of the Army for want of pay, Cloathing and provisions, added to the usual course of business (which increases with our perplexities) will I am perswaded be admitted as a sufficient apology for my not acknowledging the receipt of your confidential and obliging letter of the 8th., till now.

To learn from so good authority as your information, that the distresses of the Citizens of this State are maturing into complaints which are likely to produce serious consequences is a circumstance as necessary to be known as it is unpleasing to hear, and I thank you for the communication.⁵⁵ The Committees now forming, are at this crisis, disagreeable things; and if they cannot be counteracted or diverted from their original purposes may outgo the views of the well meaning members of them and plunge this Country into deeper distress and confusion than it has hitherto experienced, though I have no doubt but that the same bountiful Providence which has relieved us in a variety of difficulties heretofore will enable us to emerge from them ultimately, and crown our struggles with success.

55. "While our governments are weak, and unsettled, so much depends upon the opinion of the people that It can not be improper for the principal director of the military force of the country to be intimately acquainted with the sentiments of its inhabitants and the State of the country, at least so far as they may affect his resources....I am fully persuaded could the whole money of the State be collected it would not amount to £20,000 in specie or an equivalent in paper even at 40 for one. Wheat is at present the only currency of the country and the quantity of this is much less than the sanguine wishes of the people have lead them to believe. When the Assessments are delivered (And they are daily coming in) many farmers in this part of the country will not have a sufficiency left for the bread of their families, independant of what is necessary for the paymt. of the mechanics whom they have no other means of satisfying...the people have been greatly harrassed...Sore anti dissatisfied their discontents begin to break out in complaints against their Rulers, in committees. and instructions &c. which besides being dangerous symptoms, serve to weaken the hands of government anti render it highly imprudent to risk their authority by making any new demands, at least till they can convince the people that the requisitions from other states are complied with."— *R. Livingston to Washington*, Jan. 8, 1781. Livingston's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

To trace these evils to their sources is by no means difficult; and errors once discovered are more than half corrected. This, I hope, is our case at present; but there can be no radical cure till Congress is vested by the several States with full and ample Powers to enact Laws for general purposes, and till the executive business is placed in the hands of able Men and responsible characters. Requisitions then, will be supported by Law. Jealousies, and those ruinous delays and ill timed

compliances arising from distrust, and the fear of doing more than a Sister State, will cease. Business will be properly arranged; System and order will take place, and œconomy must follow; but not till we have corrected the fundamental errors enumerated above.

It would be no difficult matter to prove, that less than half the present expenditures (including certificates) is more than sufficient if we had money and these alterations in our political movements were adopted, to answer all our purposes. Taxes of course would be lessened, the burthen would be equal and light, and men sharing a common lot would neither murmur nor despond.

The picture you have drawn of the distresses of the People of this State I am perswaded is true, and I have taken the liberty in a late letter and in as delicate terms as I could express my sentiments to hint to Congress the propriety of the policy of leaving the resources of this State and the Jersey as a kind of reserve; further than this, might bring on me the charge

of an intermeddler, till I could speak decisively from my own knowledge.

At all times, and under all circumstances, you will please and honor me, by a free communication of your sentiments, as I can with much truth assure you that with the greatest esteem and Affection I am etc.

To DUC DE BIRON⁷⁹

Head Quarters, New Windsor, February 3, 1781.

Sir: The Marquis De la Rouerie who is on the point of returning to France for a few months having informed me that he has had the advantage of belonging to a regiment command by you, I cannot refuse it to my sentiments for him to take the liberty of recommending him to you, as an officer who has distinguished himself by his talents bravery and zeal in the service of this country.

He has served near four years with the rank of Colonel and the greatest part of the time has commanded a legionary corps. The numerous and rapid promotions of foreigners,

79. Louis Antoin, Due de Biron. He was colonel in the French Grenadier Guards.

in the early period of the war have occasioned a susceptibility in the American officers on this point which have hitherto prevented the advancement of Col Armand; though his services and merit are acknowledged. He has however this consolation that many of those promotions conferred rank

without employment; while he has enjoyed a more military existence in the actual command of a corps.

Though I have not the honor of a personal acquaintance with you, I have taken the liberty of addressing you upon this occasion with that frankness which is the privilege of military men and with that confidence which your reputation inspires; and I am happy in the opportunity of testifying to you the consideration and esteem etc.⁸⁰

***To JOHN SULLIVAN**

New Windsor, February 4, 1781.

Dear Sir: Colo. Armand deliver'd me your favor of the 29th. Ult. last Evening and I thank you for the sevl. communications contained in it.⁸³ The measure adopted by Congress

80. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

83. "We are now making Some Arrangements which evidence the Recovery of our Reason. A Minister of Foreign Affairs, one of Finance, a Minister of War and of Marine are to be appointed....I wish Your Excellency would be oblidging ...as to give me Yr. opinion with respect to Colo. Hamilton as a Financier."— *Sullivan to Washington*, Jan. 29, 1781. Sullivan's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

of appointing a Minister of War, Finance, and for Foreign Affairs I think a very wise one. To give efficacy to it, proper characters will, no doubt, be chosen to conduct the business of these departments. How far Colo. Hamilton, of whom you ask my opinion as a financier, has turned his thoughts to that particular study I am unable to ansr. because I never entered upon a discussion on this point with him; but this I can venture to advance from a thorough knowledge of him, that there are few men to be found, of his age, who has a more general knowledge than he possesses, and none whose Soul is more firmly engaged in the cause, or who exceeds him in probity and Sterling virtue.⁸⁴

I am clearly in Sentiment with you that our cause only became distressed, and apparently desperate from an imprr. management of it. and that errors once discovered are more than half amended; I have no doubt of our abilities or resources, but we must not slumber nor Sleep; they never will be drawn forth if we do; nor will violent exertions which subside with the occasion answer our purposes. It is a provident foresight; a proper arrangement of business, system and order in the

execution that is to be productive of that (economy which is to defeat the efforts and hopes of Great Britain. And I am happy, thrice happy on private as well as public acct; to find that these are in train; for it will ease my shoulders of an immense burthen which the deranged and perplexed

84. Congress did not pass the resolves creating ministers of finance, war, anti marine until February 7. The resolve creating a department of foreign affairs had passed January 10. Robert Morris was chosen "Superintendent of Finance", February 20, and accepted May 14. Robert R. Livingston was chosen "Secretary for Foreign Affairs", August 10, and accepted September 17, Alexander McDougall was chosen "Secretary of Marine", but declined to serve, anti after some delay the office of "Agent of Marine" was created August 29. On September 7 the duties were vested in the Superintendent of Finance. The office of "Secretary at War" was created October 1, and Benjamin Lincoln was chosen October 30. He accepted November 26.

situation of our Affairs and the distresses of every department of the Army which concentrated in the Comr. in chief had placed upon them.

I am not less pleased to hear that, Maryland has acceded to the confederation, and that Virginia has relinquished its claim to the Land West of the Ohio, which for fertility of Soil, pleasantness of clime and other Natul. advantages is equal to any known tract of Country in the Universe of the same extent, taking the great Lakes for its Northern boundary.

I wish most devoutly a happy completion to your plan of finance (which you say is near finished); and much success to your scheme of borrowing Coined specie, and Plate. but in what manner do you propose to apply the latter? as a fund to redeem its value in Paper, to be emitted; or to coin it? If the latter it will add one more to a thousand other reasons wch. might be offered in proof of the necessity of vesting legislative or dictatorial powers in Congress to make Laws of general utility for the purposes of War &c. that they might prohibit under the pains, and penalty of death specie and Provisions going into the Enemy for Goods. The Traffic with New York is immense. Individual States will not make it felony, lest (among other reasons) it should not become general, and nothing short of it will ever check, much less stop a practice which at the same time that it serves to drain us of our

Provisions and Specie removes the barrier between us and the enemy, corrupt the morals of our people by a lucrative traffic and by degrees weaken the opposition, affords a mean to obtain regular and perfect intelligence of every thing among us while even in this respect we benefit nothing from a fear of discovery. Men of all descriptions arc now indiscriminately engaging in it, Whig, Tory, Speculator. By its being practiced by those of the latter class, in a mann'r. with impunity, Men who, two or three yrs. ago, would have shuddered at the idea of such connexions now pursue it with avidity and reconcile it to themselves (in which their profits plead powerfully) upon a principle

of equality, with the Tory, who being actuated by principle, (favourable to us) and knowing that a forfeiture of the Goods to the Informer was all he had to dread and that this was to be eluded by an agreemt. to inform against each other, went into the measure witht. resqe.

This is a degression, but the subject is of so serious a nature, and so interesting to our well being as a Nation, that I never expect to see a happy termination of the War; nor great national concerns well conducted in Peace, till there is something more than a recommendatory power in Congress. It is not possible in time of War that business can be conducted well without it. The last words therefore of my letter and the first wish of my heart concur in favor of it. I am etc.⁸⁵

85. In replying to the above letter from Washington (March 6) Sullivan wrote: "I am happy to find your Excellency entertains the Same Sentiments of the virtues and abilities of Colo. Hamilton, as I have Ever Done myself. After I wrote your Excellency I found the Eyes of Congress Turned on Robert Morris, of this City as Financier. I did not therefore nominate Colo, Hamilton as I foresaw that it would be but a vain attempt....The Choice of a Minister of War is postponed to the first of October. This was a manoeuvre of Saml. Adams and others from the North, fearing that as I was in nomination the Choice would fall on me who having apostatized from the true New England Faith by sometimes voting with the Southern States am not Eligible, They were not however acquainted with all the Circumstances. I was nominated against my will and if Chosen should not have Accepted....I fully agree with your Excellency That Congress ought to have more power but I also think that the old Members Should be in Heaven or Home before this takes place." Sullivan's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

***To JOHN MATHEWS**

New Windsor, February 14, 1781.

My dear Sir: Your favor of the 30th Ulto. being delayed on the road, did not come to my hands till now, when I am on the eve of a journey to Rhode Island. The information given in it is important.⁴⁷ It affords me infinite satisfaction; and I have to thank you for your goodness in giving it to me so early.

The confederation being now closed, will, I trust, enable Congress to speak decisively in their requisitions of the respective States. Without a controuling power to regulate the different parts, and point the whole, both in time and manner, to proper objects, it is not in the nature of things, circumstanced as we are at present, to conduct the great affairs of War as they ought to be;

this I have long thought, and scarce a day arrives that does not bring with it some fresh proof in confirmation.

I am equally well pleased at the relinquishment of the claim of Virginia to the Land West of Ohio. Individual, as well as general policy, in my opinion, required it of her; for I am sure she never could govern the settlers of that extensive Country. I hope the reservations are not exceptionable ones.

My public letters to Congress contain

47. Maryland's agreement to the Confederation.

every occurrence of moment in this quarter. It is needless therefore to repeat them to a Member, nor to assure you that I shall always be thankful for any information you are at liberty to give me, and that I am etc.⁴⁸

***To JAMES DUANE**

New Windsor, February 19, 1781.

Dear Sir: The recpt. of your letter of the 29th. Ulto., and of a former by the Marqs. De la Fayette I have the honor to acknowledge and to return you my thanks for them.

The contents of that of the 29th. are very important. it presents a fair field, capable of yielding an abundant harvest if it is well improved. Skilful labourers are all that are wanting, and much depends upon a judicious choice of them. Men of abilities at the head of the respective departments, will soon introduce system order and œconomy, our affairs, consequently, will put on a different aspect; but not unless Congress is vested with, or will assume greater powers than they exert at present. and will dispense them freely, upon general principles, to the Ministers of State.

48. By an unfinished P. S., which was afterward crossed off, the above letter was not sent until February 19.

But for the assurance you give me of being soon at Hd. Quartrs. I would go more into detail on the several important points of your letter. I will, under the expectation of it, defer the pleasure of a further converse on these matters till I see you.

I cannot close my letter however, without expressing the joy I feel at the completion of the Federal union, and that Virginia has relinquished her claim to the Lands west of Ohio. The first, I trust, will enable Congress to speak with decision. The other will heal differences and contribute to our funds as there is no finer Country in the known world than is incircled by the Ohio, Mississipi, and Great Lakes. A few days ago I was on the eve of a Journey to Rhode Island, some important matters delayed it and now the time of my setting off is precarious.

Mrs. Washington, and the rest of the family, salute you cordially. with sentiments of the greatest esteem etc.

***To CHARLES PETTIT**

New Windsor, February 19, 1781.

Dr Sir: Your letter of the 9th. with the several

Articles which accompanied it came safe, and in propr. season,⁸⁰ I thank you for the trouble you have had on this occasion.

The inclosed (left open for your perusal) may be a mean of putting money in your hands. The original sum was £27 or £27. 10. Specie; there may be a deduction, but I do not know to what amount. Out of this money be so good as to pay the inclosed acct. to Mr. Star,⁸¹ your own demands upon me for the Spurs, &ca. and retain the Balle. till called for. Your choice of Spurs is very agreeable to my taste.⁸²

If Colo. Mitchell should have paid the money agreeably to Mrs. Washington's order please to inform me it that I may adopt some other mode of payment. I am etc.

PS. Will you be so obliging as to send for Mr. Cottringer and know if I am to pay him the same sum in specie as he has charged in State Money? 15 half Joes comes for the purpose if he says so but it will be the most costly coat I ever wore.

80. The other articles were 6 pounds of superfine hair powder and 10 balls of blacking.

81. Starr.

82. The spurs were perfectly plain, without strap or chain. "The price of them was \$1,100 of old money, equaling \$75 in the new emission; but Pettit obtained them for \$10 in silver.

***To JOHN MITCHELL**

New Windsor, February 19, 1781.

Dr Sir: Mrs. Washington directed Mr. Lund Washington when she left Virginia, to draw on you in favor of Colo. Harrison for the Balle. of my old Chariot left in your hands by Mr. Bringham. If the money, consequent of this order, is not already paid, be so good as to place it in the hands of Mr. Pettit to whom I am indebted for sundry articles lately sent to me from Phila. I am etc.

***To PHILIP SCHUYLER**

New Windsor, February 20, 1781.

Dear Sir: The perplexed State of our Military Affairs, generally, and the embarrassments with which I am (or more properly speaking, have been, for they are not so great now as they were) surrounded in this quarter, must appologize for my not acknowledging the receipt of your obliging favor of the 21st. Ult. Sooner.

It is with peculiar pleasure I hear that Maryland has acceded to the Confederation, and that Virginia has yielded her claim to the Country West of Ohio. Great good, I hope, will result from these measures. The first will, undoubtedly, enable Congress to speak with more decision in their requisitions of the respective States, without which it is physically impossible to prosecute the War with success, great as our expenses are. The other will smooth the way, and aid taxation by reconciling jarring interests, removing jealousies, and establishing a fund.

There are other measures lately adopted in Congress with which I am highly pleased; the establishing of Ministers⁹¹ (in place of Boards) for the departments of War, Finance and foreign Affairs. Proper Powers to, and a judicious choice of men to fill these departments, will soon lead us to system, order and œconomy; without which our Affairs, already on the brink of ruin, would soon have been passed redemption. I enjoy by anticipation the benefit of these resolves. I hear with infinite pleasure (though no nomination has yet taken place) that you are generally spoken of for the

department of War. at the same time I learn with pain from Colo. Hamilton that your acceptance of it is doubtful if the choice should fall on you.

I am perfectly aware of all your objections, I feel their force; but they ought not to prevail. Our

91. Secretaries.

Affairs are brought to an awful Crisis. Nothing will recover them but the vigorous exertions of men of abilities, who know our wants, and the best means of supplying them; these Sir without a compliment I think you possess. Why then, the department being necessary, should you shrink from the duties of it. The greater the chaos, the greater will be your merit in bringing forth order; and to expect to tread the different walks of public life without envy and its concomitants, is more than has yet fallen to the lot of human kind.

To express my wishes on this subject, under the prospect of your election, is the cause of my giving you the trouble of a letter at this moment as I should be exceedingly concerned at your refusal to become the Minister of War if the choice should fall on you.

I hope the motion you made, or was about to make, to request the Eastern States to join in a convention for the purposes therein expressed was readily agreed to. the objects were important; the ends valuable if they can be obtained.

On the 15th. I was, in appearance and expectation, on the eve of a journey to Rhode Island, as Mrs. Hamilton and Mrs. Washington were on a propos'd one to Albany. Some important dispatches prevented my setting off next morning, and an intervention of occurrences since has not only render'd the time of, but the journey itself, somewhat

uncertain. We all join in best wishes, and respectful regards for Mrs. Schuyler, yourself and family. With much truth and sincere affectn. etc.

***To ELBRIDGE GERRY**

New Windsor, February 20, 1781.

Dear Sir: The Mail of last Week brought me your letter of the 7th.

Never having entertained a doubt of your friendship, the trouble you have taken to remove a supposed suspicion of it would have given me concern were it not overballanced by the pleasure

I feel at receiving in the same instant fresh assurances of your esteem and regard for me. Declarations thereof on your part require candor and confidence on mine. I do not scruple therefore to confess that I was not a little hurt by the implications, and the general complexion of Mr. Lovells letter; and was not a little embarrassed in determining upon a line of conduct proper for me to observe on the occasion.

Conscious, that (neither directly nor

indirectly) no act, word or thought of mine had given birth to the motion, transmitted you. It was not a very pleasant thing to see a letter published, the natural interpretation of which, held out very different ideas.

The paragraph immediately following the Motion is perfectly enigmatical to an uninformed Mind; but from the context and other circumstances, must be supposed to relate to the same person and subject. I have heard it did not, but the combination was remarkable, and its falling into the hands of the enemy, and being exposed to public view, unfortunate.⁹² With great esteem etc.

To COLONEL WALTER STEWART

Head Quarters, New Windsor, February 22, 1781.

Dr. Sir: I have received your letter of the 11th. instant, and thank you for the account you give me of the operations and prospects relative to your line. It is unfortunate that anything should have happened to put a stop to the subscriptions of the Merchants which would no doubt have been very useful.¹⁵ I sincerely hope the legislature will take decisive and effectual

92. Lovell's letter of Nov. :20, 1780, to Gerry, printed in Burnett's *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*, states: "Popular" say you, "beyond all description." "Oh strange! Alack and Alas-a-day! what? more popular than *that* of old? ! ! !" The allusion is so obscure that only Gerry's letter to Lovell, which called forth this rejoinder can settle the matter. However, Lovell's well-known antagonism to Washington caused Gerry to pen the following explanation or defense to Washington (Feb. 7, 1781): "When General Knox was here, he informed me, that the paragraph of the Letter which respected a person's being "popular", was supposed by some to refer to your Excellency; but the Date of the Letter from whence Mr Lovell's quotation was made, being a few Days after the general Election of the Commonwealth, must, I think, convince every attentive Reader, the paragraph related to a civil officer who was then elected. This will more fully appear to every person acquainted with the

Circumstances of the Election itself, the Popularity of the Officer mentioned, and the Preference I publicly gave to his Competitor." Gerry's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

15. "While we were at Trenton a most Unhappy dispute took place between the Merchants of this Town, and President Reed, the Want of money in the Treasury, Occasion'd his Application to them for a Loan; but unfortunately his desire was Attended with a kind of Threat, that should they not subscribe an Embargo must take place, And the Vessels be prevented leaving the Port. This Expression Occasion'd so much Warmth between the Parties, as to cause the Subscription Papers being Call'd in, And the Treasury remain Empty." Stewart and Irvine pleaded with the merchants who agreed to raise £25,000 if the President and Council "would Nominate the sum requir'd and it not Exceeding £25000 State Money...but the President and Council thinking their Consequence lessen'd by the two former Applications, would not Attempt a Third."— *Stewart to Washington*, Feb. 11, 1781. Stewart's letter is in the *Washington Papers*. This delayed the recruiting.

measures to furnish its complement. It is certain no state in the union has it more in its power, and by the accounts I receive, it appears not to be doubted, that all the states to the Eastward from this inclusively will have their batalions full or nearly so.

I have been well informed of your exertions during the whole of the unhappy disturbance in your line. They do you honor and afford a fresh motive to me for that esteem which you have always possessed. I am etc.¹⁶

***To JOHN PARKE CUSTIS**

New Windsor, February 28, 1781.

Dear Custis: If you will accept a hasty letter in return for yours of last month I will devote a few moments for this purpose, and confine myself to an interesting point, or two.

I do not suppose that so young a Senator, as you are, little versed in political disquisitions can yet have much influence in a populous assembly; composed of Gentn. of various talents and of different views. But it is in

16. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

your power to be punctual in your attendance (and duty to the trust reposed in you exacts it of you), to hear dispassionately, and determine coolly all great questions. To be disgusted at the decision of

questions because they are not consonant to your own ideas, and to withdraw ourselves from public assemblies, or to neglect our attendance at them upon suspicion that there is a party formed who are enimical to our Cause, and to the true interest of our Country is wrong because these things may originate in a difference of opinion; but supposing the fact is otherwise and that our suspicions are well founded it is the indispensable duty of every patriot to counteract them by the most steady and uniform opposition. This advice is the result of information, that you and others being dissatisfied at the proceedings of the Virginia Assembly and thinking your attendance of little avail (as their is a majority for measures which you and a minority conceive to be repugnant to the interest of your Country) are indifferent about the Assembly.

The next and I believe the last thing I shall have time to touch upon is our military establishment. and here if I thought the conviction of having a permanent force had not, ere this, flashed upon every mans mind I could write a volume in support of the utility of it; for no day, nor hour arrives unaccompd. with proof of some loss, some expence, or some misfortune consequent of the want of it. No operation of War offensive or defensive can be carried on, for any length

of time without it. No funds are adequate to the supplies of a fluctuating army; tho' it may go under the denomination of a regular one; much less are they competent to the support of Militia. In a word, for it is, unnecessary to go into all the reasons the subject will admit of, we have brought a cause which might have been happily terminated years ago by the adoption of proper measures to the verge of ruin by temporary enlistments and a reliance on Militia. The sums expended in bounties, waste of Arms, consumption of Military Stores, Provisions, Camp Utensils &ca.; to say nothing of Cloathing which temporary Soldiers are always receiving, and always in want of, are too great for the resources of any Nation; and prove the falacy and danger of temporary expedients which are no more than Mushrooms and of as short duration, but leave a sting (that is a debt) which is continually revolving upon us behind them.

It must be a settled plan, founded on System, order and œconomy that is to carry us triumphantly through the war. Supiness, and indifference to the distresses and cries of a sister State when danger is far of, and a general but momentary resort to arms when it comes to our doors, are equally impolitic and dangerous, and proves the necessity of a controuling power in Congress to regulate and direct all matters of *general* concern; without it the great business of war never can be well conducted, if it can be conducted at all;

while the powers of congress are only recommendatory; while one State yields obedience, and another refuses it; while a third mutilates and adopts the measure in part only, and all vary in time and manner, it is scarcely possible our affairs should prosper, or that any thing but disappointmt. can follow the best concerted plans; the willing States are almost ruined by their exertions, distrust

and jealousy succeeds to it; hence proceed neglect and ill-timed compliances (one state waiting to see what another will do), this thwarts all our measures after a heavy tho' ineffectual expence is incurred.

Does not these things shew then in the most striking point of view the indispensable necessity, the great and good policy of each State's sending its ablest and best men to Congress? Men who have a perfect understanding of the constitution of their Country, of its policy and Interests, and of vesting that body with competent powers. Our Independence depends upon it; our respectability and consequence in Europe depends upon it; our greatness as a Nation, hereafter, depends upon it. the fear of giving sufficient powers to Congress for the purposes I have mentioned is futile, without it, our Independence fails, and each Assembly under its present Constitution will be annihilated, and we must once more return to the Government of G: Britain, and be made to kiss the rod preparing for our correction. a nominal head, which at present is but another name for Congress, will no longer do. That honble body,

after hearing the interests and views of the several States fairly discussed and explained by their respective representatives, must dictate, not merely recommend, and leave it to the States afterwards to do as they please, which, as I have observed before, is in many cases, to do nothing at all.

When I began this letter I did not expect to have filled more than one side of the sheet but I have run on insensibly. If you are at home, give my love to Nelly and the Children. if at Richmond present my compliments. to any enquiring friends. Sincerely and affectly. I am etc.

P S. The Public Gazettes will give you all the news and occurrences of this Quarter, our eyes are anxiously turned towards the South for events.

***TO REVEREND WILLIAM GORDON**

Newport, March 9, 1781.

Dear Sir: Your letter begun on the 28th Ult. and ended the first instant, came to my hds. at this place. I am conscious of being indebted to you not only for this but for several other unacknowledged favors and thank you for ascribing my omissions to a multiplicity of other matters. I can with

much truth assure you that my business has encreased with our difficulties and kept equal pace with them; to what length these have arisen no man of observation need be informed. Excepting to Mrs. Washington when she is absent from me, and now and then a letter to a friend (more on business than for the purpose of communication) I rarely put pen to paper for private corrispondences. Your complaint therefore is a common accusation against me, and will I fear remain in too much force till our affairs are a little more systemized the powers of Congress enlarged and military matters are in a less fluctuating state than they have been; these changes would enable me to conduct the affairs of my department with ease and satisfaction to myself and would allow me some time for private indulgences to which I have long been a stranger.

I came here the 6th on business and as soon as that business is finished I shall return to my dreary quarters at New Windsor. We have, as you very justly observe, abundant reason to thank providence for its many favourable interpositions in our behalf. It has, at times been my only dependence for all other resources seemed to have fail'd us. My respects to Mrs. Gordon. I am etc.⁹⁶

96. In the New York Public Library is two-thirds of an A. L. S of Washington, dated at Newport on Mar. 10, 1781. It was apparently addressed to the Continental agent at Newburyport or Boston, apologizing for the trouble given him in trying to obtain a pair of epaulettes(?) which Washington had since obtained; he mentioned that the news of Comte D'Estaing's victory over Hood had proven false and that he intended to return to New Windsor in a day or two.

***To CHEVALIER DE CHASTELLUX¹⁶**

New Windsor, March 21, 1781.

I arrived my dear Chevalr. at these my Quarters in the forenoon of yesterday; after passing over very bad roads and riding thro very foul weather without any damage. I must again give vent to that sensibility wch your goodness has impressed me with, and again thank you for all those civilities which your politeness heaped upon me at Rhode Island. I shall be grateful for them, and shall wish for opportunities to prove the sincerity of these professions.

G Britain is at War with the Dutch; the manifesto and declaration of that Court I have done myself the honr. to transmit to the Count de Rochambeau. We have it by *report* that Adml. Des Touches is safe arrived in Hampton Road. A number of Militia under the command of Baron de Steuben were hovering round Arnold, ready to co-operate with Genl. Viominel and the Marqs. de la fayette in the

moment of their debarkation; the latter of whom had advanced his detachment to Annapolis to receive more readily the protection and Convoy of the Frigates of Monsr. Destouches.

General Greene by my last Accts. was gathering strength. Ld. Cornwallis was retreating but

16. Maj. Gen. François Jean, Chevalier de Chastellux.

the object of his retrograde movement was uncertain, a little time must discover it.

Will you do me the favor to present my respects to Genl. Viominil¹⁷ and those Gentn. to whom I am indebted for unbounded civilities; and do me the justice to believe that with sentiments of purest regard, and the warmest personal attachment, &c.

***To REVEREND JOSEPH WILLARD**

New Windsor, March 22, 1781.

Sir: I am much indebted to you for announcing my election as a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.²² I feel myself particularly honored by this relation to a Society whose efforts to promote useful knowledge will, I am persuaded acquire them a high reputation in the literary world.

I entreat you to present my warmest acknowledgments to that respectable body and to assure them that I shall with Zeal embrace every opportunity of seconding

17. Lieut. Gen. Antoine Charles du Houx, Baron de Vioménil.

22. The certificate of this election is in the *Washington Papers*.

their laudable views and manifesting the exalted sense I have of the institution.

The Arts and Sciences essential to the prosperity of the State and to the ornament and happiness of human life have a primary claim to the encouragement of every lover of his Country and mankind.

For the polite and flattering terms in which you have been pleased to convey the sentiments of the Academy I beg you to accept my grateful thanks and the assurances of my being with great esteem and respect etc.

To MRS. CATHERINE GREENE²³

New Windsor, March 22, 1781.

Dear Madm: My last, written in an hour of haste from Providence would inform you of my disappointment in not havg. the please. of seeing you in the course of my trip to R Island. Since my arrival at this place I have received a letter from Genl. Greene of the 28th Feby. (with the inclosed to you) informing me that Lord Cornwallis was retreating and that he was advancing; but the end and design of the retrograde movement of the enemy was not, at that time,

23. Catherine Littlefield, wife of Gen. Nathanael Greene.

sufficiently unfolded.

I have also been bond. with your favor of the 26th. of Feby. and find by the letter to Mrs. Washington that you have it in contemplation to make a journey to the Southward. I can neither advise you to, nor dissuade you from the measure, because the true footing (if you will allow me the freedom to say so) upon which the journey should depend is, in my opinion, the encouragement given to it by Genl. Greene; who having a view of all circumstances before him, can alone determine the propriety of it.

Mrs. Washington is not yet returned from albany, or she would, I am sure, salute you with as much warmth and cordiality as does Dr. Madam Yr. etc.

***To PHILIP SCHUYLER**

New Windsor, March 23, 1781.

Dear Sir: Upon my return to this place 3 days ago I had the please. to rece. your favor of the 25th. Ulto. I thank you for the honor you intended me if Mrs. Schuyler had added a Son to your family and chearfully become a

sponsor for the daughter on the birth of whom and the good health of your Lady please to accept and offer my congratulatory Compliments.

By a Manœuvre too profound for my understanding, if it is intended for the public good, the choice of a Minister of War is postponed till October. I have heard no reason assigned for it, and am uncharitable enough to believe that no *good one* can be given.³⁹

We are in a most critical and disagreeable state of with respect to the two Fleets. Neither had arrived within Chesapeake bay the 15th. Instr. when letters from the Marqs. and Baron de Steuben were dated at Yorktown (20 Miles from the Mouth of James River) tho' both were expected.

[How unhappy it is for all our measures, that the adoption of them cannot be in season Had the French Commrs. at R Island complied (in the first instance) with my request to send the whole Fleet, and a detachmt. from their Land force to Virga. the destruction of Arnolds Corps must have been compleat during the debilitated state of the British Fleet. The undertaking now, is bold and precarious, rendered more so by an unfortunate and to me unaccountable delay of 24 hours in their quitting Newport, after it was said they were ready to Sail; the Wind being as favorable to them and as adverse to the Enemy as Heaven cd. furnish. But it

39. "The motives which led Congress to postpone filling the war department, have leaked out, and been communicated to me. General Gates was in nomination but his friends reflecting, that the impropriety of appointing him, before he had exculpated himself, from the imputation of misconduct in his command, would be too glaring an abuse of power, deferred it, in hopes that by an acquittal, the public confidence will be restored to him."— *Schuyler to Washington*, Apr. 3, 1781. Schuyler's letter is in the *Washington Papers*. (See also note to Washington's letter to Maj. Gen. John Sullivan, Feb. 4, 1781, *ante*.)

is our true policy to make the most of their assistance without censuring their mistakes therefore it is I communicate this in confidence.]⁴⁰

By my last advices from General Greene Lord Cornwallis was retreating; but the design of his retrograde movement was not sufficiently explained. Genl. Greene was advancing and the Militia assembling. The situation of things there, and in Virginia are critical and big with important events. God grant they may be favourable to us. I am etc.

***To WILLIAM FITZHUGH⁶⁵**

New Windsor, March 25, 1781.

Dear Sir: A few days ago brought me the honor of your favor of the 7th. Instt. from Marlbro. Your other letter of Jany. the 20th. came duly to hand, for both I thank you;⁶⁶ without offering an apology for suffering the latter to remain unacknowledged till this time; because I am satisfied you will attribute my silence to any cause rather than disrespect, and to none sooner than the true one, viz., the load of business which continually presses upon me.

40. The bracketed portion is inclosed in a marginal brace in the draft and marked "Private" by Washington.

65. Of Maryland.

66. Neither of these letters are now found in the *Washington Papers*.

It was with sincere concern I heard of the injury you sustained in your property at the Mouth of Patuxent; but it is only adding another specimen to the catalogue of British clemency, and boasted generosity.

The accession of Maryland to the confederation, and the relinquishment of the claim of Virginia to the Lands West of Ohio, are events which are exceedingly pleasing to me, but I am not sufficiently acquainted with the powers of Civil government, under the present Constitutions of the several States, to determine how far they are able to obtain Men for the War, or for three years, by coercion, nor am I enough acquainted with the abilities of them, to declare what Sums they ought to have given to Soldiers under this description in preference to a draft of Men for a short term; this however I am decided in, that the latter is the most expensive, and least effectual mode that ever was devised to carry on a War, which is like to become a War of finance. and that no funds within our reach can support it long. I speak upon the best ground when I assert this, because no day, nor hour arrives without bringing with it some evidence in support of the truth of the observation. To this cause also the prolongation of the War; the wretched State of our finances, and every capital misfortune that has befallen us may be traced.

I as little scruple to add that, unless the powers of Congress are made competent to all the purposes of War we

are doing no more than wasting our time, and spending our treasure to very little purpose for it is impossible to apply the strength and resources of this Country while one State complies with, another rejects, and the majority of them changes or mutilates the requisitions of that Body. Hence the willing States are capitally injured if not ruined. Hence proceed distrust, jealousy, and

dissatisfaction; and the impossibility of either projecting or executing (with certainty) any plan whatsoever. Hence proceed all those delays, which to people at a distance, and unacquainted with circumstances, are altogether unaccountable. And hence it is we incur useless expence, because we do not bring our force, and means, into operation at the same time, some being exhausted, before others are obtained.

We wait with much sollicitude advices from the Southern Army; our last accts. from that quarter were less gloomy than the former, but not less equivocal and distressing. I have heard nothing from General Greene since the 28th. of Feby., nor of him (with precision) since the 2d. Instt.

Matters were so critically circumstanced at that time, as to add pain to impatience. Equally ignorant, and equally anxious am I, with respect to the French Fleet under the Command of the Chevalier Des Touches. No acct. of whom have I received (but vague ones through the channel of Rivingtons Paper) since he left New port.⁶⁷ At Yorktown in Virginia there was no intelligence of him on the 15th.

[It is to be lamented, greatly lamented, that the French Commanders...]⁶⁸

I have heard nothing from General Thompson since his release from captivity, and as his joining the Army will depend upon his promotion, and his promotion on Congress, the time of it is uncertain; but that your Son may be relieved from his present anxiety, suspence, and all possible censure I will, with much pleasure, receive him into my family as an extra Aid till Thompson arrives. In the mean while, his rank may be ascertained and his Commission procured.

Mrs. Washington makes a tender of her Compliments to Mrs. Fitzhugh, to which please to add those of Dr. Sir, Yr. etc.

[N.Y.H.S.]

67. Washington did not receive Destouches's letter of March 19, which is now in the *Washington Papers*, until March 30. In it the French commander described his encounter with the British squadron and gave his reasons for not pursuing the British when they continued on their way to the Chesapeake. Destouches returned to Newport March 26. (See Washington's letter to Destouches, Mar. 31, 1781, *post.*)

68. The omitted portion is practically the same as that marked "Private" in Washington's letter to Maj. Gen. Philip Schuyler, Mar. 23, 1781, *ante*, and in the above letter to Fitzhugh is likewise included within a marginal brace and marked "Private."

On March 25, also, Washington in a brief note to Heath, inclosed Maj. Thomas Cartright's discharge and informed him that a British deserter was sent back to be delivered to the Westchester County civil authorities. This note is in the Massachusetts Historical Society.

***To LIEUTENANT COLONEL ROBERT HANSON HARRISON**

Head Quarters, March 25, 1781.

I certify that Robt. H. Harrison Esqr. Lieutt. Colo. in the Continental Army, entered the Service in the month of October 1775 as one of my Aid de Camps, and in May following became my Secretary; the duties of which offices he discharged with conspicuous abilities. That his whole conduct, during all the intervening periods of the War has been marked by the strictest integrity and the most attentive and faithful services, while by personl. bravery he has been distinguished on sevl. occasions.

***To MAJOR GENERAL JOHN ARMSTRONG**

New Windsor, March 26, 1781.

Dear Sir: Your favor of the 8th. from Carlisle came to me safe, as did the letter alluded to in it; which I should have thanked you for long 'ere this if the public business in which I am engaged wd. yield obedience to my inclination, and indulge me more frequently in the gratification of an epistolary and pleasing intercourse with my friends. I received with

much pleasure the acct. of your recovered health, and sincerely wish it may be of long continuance and much usefulness to yourself and Country.

We ought not to look back, unless it is to derive useful lessons from past errors, and for the purpose of profiting by dear bought experience. To enveigh against things that are past and irremediable, is displeasing; but to steer clear of the shelves and rocks we have struck upon, is the part of wisdom, equally incumbent on political, as other men, who have their own little bark, or that of others to navigate through the intricate paths of life, or the trackless Ocean to the haven of security. and rest.

Our affairs are brought to an awful crisis, that the hand of Providence, I trust, may be more conspicuous in our deliverance.

The many remarkable interpositions of the divine governmt. in the hours of our deepest distress and darkness, have been too luminous to suffer me to doubt the happy issue of the present contest; but the period for its accomplishmt. may be too far distant for a person of my years, whose Morning and Evening hours, and every moment (unoccupied by business), pants for retirement; and for those domestic and rural enjoyments which in my estimation far surpasses the highest pageantry of this world.

We wait with anxious solicitude, advices

from the Southern army; our last accts. from that quarter were less gloomy than the former, but not less equivocal and distressing. I have heard nothing from Genl. Greene since the 28th. of Feby, nor of him (with precision) since the 2d. Inst. Matters were so critically circumstanced at that time as to add pain to impatience; equally ignorant and equally anxious am I with respect to the French fleet undr. the comd. of the Chevalier Destouches. No acct. of whom have I received (but vague ones through the channel of Rivington's Paper) since he left New port; at York town in Virga. (24 miles from Hampton Road the place of his destination) there was no intelligence of him on the 15th.

[It is to be lamented, greatly lamented, that the French Commanders...]⁶⁹

69. The omitted portion is practically the same as was written to Schuyler on Mar. 23, 1781, *q. v.*, and in the above letter to Armstrong was likewise inclosed in a marginal brace and marked "Private" by Washington.

I am sorry to hear that the recruiting business in your State is clogged with so many embarrassments. It is perhaps, the greatest of the great evils attending this contest, that States as well as individuals, had rather wish well, than act well; had rather see a thing done, than do it; or contribute their just proportion to the doing it. This conduct is not only injurious to the common cause but in the end most expensive to themselves; besides the distrusts and jealousies which are sown by such conduct. To expect brick without straw, is idle, and yet I am called upon with as much facility to furnish Men and means for every service and every want as if every iota required of the States had been furnished, and the whole was at my disposal; when the fact is, I am scarcely able to provide a garrison for West point, or to feed the Men that are there. This, and ten thousand reasons which I could assign, prove the necessity of something more than recommendatory powers in Congress. If that body is not vested with a controuling power in matters of common concern, and for the great purposes of War, I do not scruple to give it, decidedly, as my opinion, that it will be impossible to prosecute it to any *good effect*. Some States are capitally injured, if not ruin'd by their

own exertions and the neglects of others while by these irregularities the strength and resources of the

Country never are, nor can be employed to advantage. but I have exceeded the bounds of a common letter and shall trespass no longer than while I can assure you that I am etc.

***To LUND WASHINGTON**

New Windsor, March 28, 1781.

Dear Lund: Since my last, your letter of the 14th. Instt. is received. If Mr. Triplet has got as much Land as he has given, and you have paid him the cash difference with a proper allowance for the depreciation since file bargain was made, I am at a loss to discover the ground of his complaint; and if men will complain without cause, it is a matter of no great moment. it always, and now is my wish to do him justice, and if there is any thing lacking in it, delay not to give him full measure of justice, because I had rather exceed, than fall Short.

We have heard nothing certain of the two

Fleets since they left their respective ports. We wait with impatient anxiety for advices from Chesapeake, and the Southern Army. God send they may be favourable to us; a detachment from New York has made two or three attempts to put to Sea (for the purpose, it is said, of reinforcing either Arnold or Cornwallis) and as often returned. My last accts. from New York mention another attempt on the 25th; but whether with truth, or not, it is not in my power to say. It was unfortunate; but this I mention in confidence, that the French Fleet and detachment did not undertake the enterprize they are now upon, when I first proposed it to them; the destruction of Arnolds Corps would then have been inevitable before the British fleet could have been in a condition to put to Sea. instead of this the small squadron, which took the Romulus and other Vessels was sent, and could not, as I foretold, do any thing without a Land force at Portsmouth.⁷⁴

How many Lambs have you had this Spring? How many Colts are you like to have? Is your covered ways done? What are you going about next? Have you any prospect of getting paint and Oyl? are you going to repair the Pavement of the Piazza? is anything doing, or like to be done with respect to the Wall at the edge of the Hill in front of the House? Have you made good rite decayed Trees at the ends of the House, in the Hedges, &ca. Have you made any attempts to reclaim more Land for meadow? &ca. &ca. An acct. of these things would be satisfactory to me, and infinitely amusing in the recital, as I have these kind of improvements very much at heart. As soon as you

can conveniently do it after receipt of this letter, give me a list of the number and kind of Mares I possess. the number of Colts from 4 years old (inclusive) to those of this spring with the ages, colour, kind, and Sexes. Mrs. Washington (from report only, I believe) has taken a fancy to a Horse belonging to Mr. James Cleveland, brother to the one had from him before (and wch. I think a fine horse), if you can get him in the way of barter, provided he is as handsome, and as fine a horse as represented, and the colour of the set she drives, I shall be very well pleased with your doing it. She joins me in best wishes for you Mrs. Washington, and Milly Posey, I am etc.⁷⁵

***To ALEXANDER McDOUGALL**

New Windsor, March 31, 1781.

Dr Sir: The Expedition against Arnold has failed. After the favourable moment (occasioned by the disability

74. To this point the letter was published by the British in Rivington's *Gazette*, Apr. 4, 1781.

75. The letter was intercepted by the British.

of part of the British Ships at Gardners bay) was suffered to pass away I never was sanguine in my expectation of success; but the object being great the risque was warrantable. The attempt of the Chevr. Des touches at the time he sailed was bold and enterprising, for this and political reasons; and because I know it will be grateful to the French General and Admiral I take the liberty of hinting to you the propriety (if it is not already done) of Congress paying them a compliment on the occasion. It may have a happy effect, which is the only apology I can offer for the freedom of suggesting it. I am etc.

P.S. I have recd. your letter promising to corrispond under the signature of Marcus and shall be happy in the Fruits of it.²

2. The same letter, minus the P. S., was sent to John Sullivan and John Mathews, Destouches's letter (duplicate) of Mar. 19, 1781, to Washington is filed with the above Washington letter in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

***To LIEUTENANT COLONEL JOHN LAURENS**

New Windsor, April 9, 1781.

My dear Laurens: Colo. Armand, who was charged with the delivery of many letters to you from the Marquis de la Fayette, imparting to his friends and the Ministry of France your mission, unfortunately arrived at Boston after you had Sailed from that place. By him I gave you an acct. of the

revolt of part of the Jersey Troops; Arnolds Expedition to Virginia, Leslies arrival at Charles Town, and such other matters as occurred after your departure.

Since that period, several interesting events have happened; some favourable, others adverse. Among the first may be reckoned Morgans brilliant action with Tarleton; among the latter the advantages gained by Lord Cornwallis over General Greene. The official accts. of these I inclose you. Cornwallis, after the defeat of Tarleton destroyed his Waggon and made a violent effort to recover his prisoners; but failing therein moved equally light and rapidly against General Greene; who (though he had formed a junction with Morgan) was obliged to retreat before him into Virginia; whether from despair of recovering his prisoners, of bringing Greene to a general Action, or because he conceived his own situation critical, I do not take upon me to determine; but the fact is, that here commenced Cornwallis's retrograde movements; and Greenes advance; from the Roanoke to the place of Action.

On the first notice of the storm which happened on the 22d. of Jany. and its effects, I intimated to the French Genl. the possibility and importance of improving the opportunity in an attempt upon Arnold. When I received a more certn. acct. of the total loss of the Culloden and the dismasting of the Bedford two 74 Gun ships belonging to the British Fleet at Gardners bay, I immediately put in motion, under the comd.

of the Marqs. de la Fayette, *as large a part of my small force here, as I could with prudence detach*⁶⁷ to proceed to the head of Elk, and made with all expedition a proposal to the Count de Rochambeau and the Chevalir. Destouches for a co-operation in Virginia, with the whole of the fleet of our Allies, and a part of their land force. Before my proposition arrived, in consequence of an application to him from Philadelphia, the Chevr. Destouches had sent a Ship of the line and two or three frigates to Chesapeak bay which not only retarded the plan I had proposed (by awaiting their return) but ultimately, defeated the project, as the enemy in the mean time remasted the Bedford with those taken out of the Culloden, and following the French fleet, arrived off the Capes of Virginia before it; where a Naval combat glorious for the French (who were inferior in Ships and Guns) but unprofitable for us who were disappointed of our object was the issue.

The failure of this Expedition, (which was most flattering in the commencement of it) is much to be regretted; because a successful blow in that quarter, would, in all probability, have given a decisive turn to our Affairs in all the Southern States. Because it has been attended with considerable expence on our part, and much inconvenience to the State of Virginia, by assembling its Militia; and because the World are disappointed at not seeing Arnold in Gibbets. above all, because we stood in need of something to keep us a float, till the result of your mission is known for be

67. The italicized parts of this letter were written in cipher.

assured my dear Laurens, that day does not follow night more certainly, than it brings with it some additional proof of the impracticability of carrying on the War without the aids you were directed to solicit. As an honest and candid man; as a man whose all depends on the final and happy termination of the present contest, I assert this. While I give it decisively as my opinion, that without a foreign loan our present force (which is but the remnant of an Army) cannot be kept together this Campaign; much less will it be encreased, and in readiness for another. The observations contained in my letter to you of the 15th. of Jany. last, are verified every moment; And if France delays, a timely, and powerful aid in the critical posture of our affairs it will avail us nothing should she attempt it hereafter; for we are at this hour, suspended in the Balle; not from choice, but from hard and absolute necessity; for you may rely on it as a fact, that we cannot transport the provisions from the States in which they are Assessed to the Army, because we cannot pay the Teamsters, who will no longer work for Certificates. It is equally certain, that our Troops are approaching fast to nakedness and that we have nothing to cloath them with. That our Hospitals are without medicines, and our Sick without Nutriment, except such as well men eat. That all our public works are at a stand, and the Artificers disbanding; but why need I run into the detail, when it may be declared in a word, that we are at the end of our tether, and that now or never our deliverance must come. While Alas! how easy would it be to

retort the enemys own game upon them if it could be made to comport with the genl. plan of the War to keep a superior Fleet always in these Seas and France would put us in a conditn. to be active, by advancing us money. the ruin of the enemys schemes would then be certain; the bold game they are now playing would be the mean to effect it for they would be reduced to the necessity of centering their force at capital points, thereby giving up all the advantages they have gained in the Southern States, or be vulnerable every where .

Such of the Pennsylvania line as had reassembled, and were recruited *say about 1000* were ordered *the middle of Feby to join the Southern Army* and since the disappointment of our enterprize on Arnold

I have directed the detachment under the Comd. of the Marqs. de la Fayette *to proceed thither but how either can march without money or credit, is more than I can tell* .

With every wish for your success, and a safe and speedy return, and with every sentiment of esteem and Affection. I am etc.

P S. I have this instt. recd. a Pensyla. Paper of the 7th Instt. containing later accts. than any I have had from Genl. Greene, published by Order of Congress; this I also inclose to you. Be so good as to make my best respects to Doctr. Franklin.

***To COLONEL WALTER STEWART**

New Windsor, April 12, 1781.

Dear Sir: I have been favoured with your letter of the 21st. Ult. and am much obliged by the general information which you have given of the progress of the line in collecting their old Soldiers and Recruits. Be assured your letters can never be troublesome to me.

The communication which you so politely made in your last, respecting your own prospects, gave me a particular pleasure, which will be heightened by hearing that I may congratulate you, and present my compliments to Mrs. Stewart. That you may be as happy as you deserve is the sincere wish of

Dear Sir, Your, etc.⁸⁸

***To JONATHAN TRUMBULL, JUNIOR¹³**

New Windsor, April 16, 1781.

Sir: Colo. Harrison who has acted as my Secretary since the beginning of 1776 has accepted an honorable and profitable Civil appointment in the State of Maryland and is gone to enjoy it. The circle of my acquaintance does not furnish

88. From a facsimile of the letter sold at auction in 1931.

13. Son of Gov. Jonathan Trumbull, of Connecticut, (See General Orders, June 8, 1781, *post.*)

a character that would be more pleasing to me as a successor to him than yours; I make you the first offer therefore of the vacant Office and should be happy on your acceptance of it.

The pay is one hundred dollars pr. month; the Rations that of a Lieutt. Colonel in the Army, (which in fact, is additional; as the value thereof is received in money). No perquisites appertain to the Office. The Secretary lives as I do, is at little expence while he is in my family, or when absent on my business, and is in the highest confidence and estimation from the nature of his Office.

I mention these things for your information and shall be happy in a speedy and favourable answer. being with great esteem and regard etc.

***To MAJOR GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE**

New Windsor, April 18, 1781.

My dear Sir: Your private letter of the 18th. Ult. came safe to hand, altho' the honors of the field did not fall to your lot, I am convinced you deserved them. The chances of War are various, and the best concerted measures, and

the most flattering prospects may, and often do deceive us; especially while we are in the power of Militia. The motives which induced you to seek an action with Lord Cornwallis are supportable upon the best Military principles; and the consequences, if you can prevent the dissipation of your Troops, will, no doubt be fortunate. Every support that is in my power to give you, from this Army, shall chearfully be afforded. But if I part with any more Troops I must accompany them or have none to Command, as there is not, at this moment, more than a Garrison for West point; nor can I tell when there will.

I am much pleased to find by your letter that the State of Virginia exerts itself to your satisfaction. My public and private letters strongly inculcate the necessity of this. And I have again urged Congress to use every possible mean in their power to facilitate the march of the Pennsylvania line, as also to recruit, equip and forward Moylans Dragoons to you, with dispatch.

I should be very sorry on any occasion to hurt the feelings of the Baron de Steuben, whom I esteem as a very valuable Officer. But in the instance you have mentioned there is no cause for complaint, for if he will advert to his own letters to me, he will find that there was a great probability of his

having marched with a detachment to reinforce you. Besides which there was a necessity for sending a Genl. Officer with the detachment from hence; and political considerations as it was

to be a combined operation, (depending upon critical circumstances) with a French Land and Sea force, pointed to the Marquis. Add to this, I knew, that the French Troops were to be commanded by an Officer of senior rank to either the Baron or Marquis. These are the facts, the knowledge of which must, I am perswaded, satisfy the Baron.

I am truly sensible of the merit and fortitude of the veteran bands under your Command, and wish the sentiments I entertain of their worth could be communicated with the warmth I feel them. It was my full intention to have requested you, to thank Morgan and the gallant Troops under his commd. for their brilliant victory but the hurry in which my letters are too often written, occasioned the omission at the time I acknowledged the official Account of that action.

Your conjecture respecting the cause of the P— M—y¹⁹ has more substantial ground for its support than the letter of the M— of C—,²⁰ and I am mistaken if the licentious conduct of that line was not more the effect of an over charge of spirits on the first of January than of premeditated design.

I have the pleasure to tell you, that as far as I am acquainted with the opinion of Congress with respect to your conduct it is much in your favour, that this is the sentiment of all the Southern Delegates I have great reason to

19. The Pennsylvania mutiny.

20. Member of Congress.

believe because I have it declared to me in explicit terms by some of them.

Since writing the above I have recd. a letter from Mr. Custis dated the 29th. Ult. in which are these words "Genl. Greene has by his conduct gained universal esteem, and possesses in the fullest degree the confidence of all ranks of people." He had then just returned from the Assembly at Richmond.

I hope the disorder of which you complained in your letter of the 18th, was no other than the effect of over fatigue, and that you are now perfectly well. That success, equal to your merits and wishes may attend you, is the ardent desire of Dr. Sir etc.

P S. Mrs. Washington and the rest of the family present their best wishes to you; and I have the pleasure to tell you that Mrs. Greene and your Children were well lately. Your letters to her, under cover to me, are regularly forwarded by the Post.

To MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE

Head Quarters, April 21, 1781.

My Dear Marquis: Though the situation of Southern affairs would not permit me to recall your corps to this army, yet it was with great reluctance I could resolve upon seeing you separated from Head Quarters. My friendship for you makes me desirous of having you near me, and there will occur frequent occasions in cooperative measures in which it would be of the greatest utility I should have it in my power to consult you. These motives would have induced me to propose to you to return personally to Head Quarters, did I not believe you would not have chosen to quit your corps, and had I not foreseen a difficulty in giving you a command in the remaining troops. A select corps you could not have and there are so many Major Generals who conceive themselves in a manner wedded to the different lines and who are to be provided for that it would not be easy at present to accommodate matters to your having a command in the line. But this difficulty might be overcome, and I cannot forbear, late as it is, leaving it to your option to proceed with your corps or return personally to Head Quarters. If the last should be your choice, you will give the necessary orders to the officer you leave in command to march with all the necessary precaution and take

the orders of the Baron De Steuben. You will at the same time write to The Baron communicating to him your instructions and to General Greene informing him of your return.

If you resolve to proceed forward, I shall have one consolation which is that from the present aspect of things it is perhaps most probable the weight of the war this campaign will be in the Southern states, and it will become my duty to go there in person where I shall have the pleasure of seeing you again. Of this I would not have you to say anything. Adieu My Dr Marquis wherever you are, assure yourself of my unalterable friendship and affection.⁴⁵

***To MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE**

New Windsor, April 22, 1781.⁴⁶

My dear Marqs: Since writing the inclosed your several letters (acknowledged in my public one of this date) are come to hand; all of them except that of the 12th arrived at Hd. Quarters within the course of one hour.

The reasons assigned in some of your letters, and others which have occurred to me, chiefly of a political nature, assure me that great advantages will be derived from your being wherever the French Army and the American head

45. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

46. The letters of April 21 and 22 are combined by Sparks and printed under date of April 21.

Quarters are. I therefore not only repeat the offer contained in the inclosed letter, but accompany it with a wish that you may return, if you can, consistently with your own inclination, relinquish your present command for the prospects I have mentioned; not else; as it always has been, and ever will be my wish to make things as agreeable to you as the nature of the service will admit. To recall the detachment I cannot, for reasons which in my judgment are conclusive.

The accidents to which letters are liable, forbid me, unless I could write to you in cypher, to go into a full explanation of some matters wch. you seem not to be well informd of and wch. I wish to set you write in; but I dare not attempt it in a common letter; nor will there be any necessity for it if you return.

I am very sorry that any letter of mine should be the subject of public discussion, or give the smallest uneasiness to any person living. The letter, to which I presume you allude, was a confidential one from me to Mr. Lund Washington⁴⁷ (with whom I have lived in perfect intimacy for near 20 Years). I can neither avow the letter as it is published by Mr. Rivington, nor declare that it is spurious, because my letter to this Gentn. was wrote in great haste, and no copy of it was taken; all I remember of the matter is, that at the time of writing it, I was a good deal chagreened to find by your letter of the 15th. of March (from York Town in

47. See Washington's letter to Lund Washington, Mar. 28, 1781, *ante*.

Virginia) that the French fleet had not, at that time, appeared within the Capes of Chesapeak; and meant (in strict confidence) to express my apprehensions and concern for the delay; but as we know that the alteration of a single word does, oftentimes, pervert the Sense, or give force to expression unintended by the letter writer, I should not be surprized at Mr. Rivington's or the Inspector of his Gazette having taken this liberty with the letter in question; especially as he, or they have I am told,

published a letter from me to Govr. Hancock and his answer, which never had an existence but in the Gazette. That the enemy fabricated a number of Letters for me formerly, is a fact well known; that they are not less capable of doing it now few will deny, as to his asserting, that this is a genuine copy of the original, he well knows that their friends do not want to convict him of a falsehood and that ours have not the opportunity of doing it though both sides are knowing to his talents for lying.

The event, which you seem to speak of with regret, my friendship for you would most assuredly have induced me to impart to you in the moment it happened had it not been for the request of H —⁴⁸ who desired that no mention should be made of it: Why this injunction on me, while he was communicating it himself, is a little extraordinary! but I complied, and religiously fulfilled it. With every sentiment of Affecte. regard etc.

48. Alexander Hamilton, who resigned as aide-de-camp to the Commander in Chief, Feb, 16, 1781. Lafayette had been the unconscious cause of the trouble. (See Hamilton's letter to his father-in-law, Philip Schuyler, giving his version of the matter, in Lodge's *Works of Hamilton* (Fedl. Edn.), vol. 9, p. 232.)

P S. The letter wch. you say has made much noise, I enclose you, lest you may not have had it from any other Quarter.⁴⁹

***To JOHN FLOOD**

Hd. Qrs. New Windsor, April 29, 1781.

Sir: If Jesse Cole, an Inhabitant of the City of New York, will undertake to communicate, with me through the Channel that has been proposed to him, or any other which may be more direct and better; and will give me regular information of the enemys movements, strength, and designs, as far as he can come at them, from good information and his own observation, particularly noting their reinforcements, Embarkations, and the disposition of their Troops on the different Islands, and of their Ships of War in the Harbr., and where the case requires it will give this intelligence with dispatch. I do, in behalf of the United States, promise that due consideration of his services shall be had, and compensation made, when circumstances will admit of it.

49. A Letter from you Relating to the delays of the french makes a Great Noise at Philadelphia. Indeed it gives me pain on Many political Accounts. There Are Many Confidential Communications which You once Had Requested from me, and which My peculiar Situation with Both Sides of the

Alliance would Enable me to Make; But Having been ordered from You, and Many things I Had to say Not Being of a Nature, which would Render it prudent to Entrust them to paper, these personal Services Must Be out of the Question so long as the War Continues in Carolina."— *Lafayette to Washington*, Apr. 15, 1781. Lafayette's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

***To COMTE DE ROCHAMBEAU**

Head Quarters, New Windsor, April 30, 1781.

Sir: I assure your Excellency, that I feel extreme pain at the occasion of that part of your letter of the 26th. Inst. which relates to an intercepted letter of mine published by the enemy. I am unhappy, that an accident should have put it in their power to give to the world any thing from me, which may contain an implication the least disagreeable to you or to the Chevalier Des-Touches. I assure you sincerely, that I have no copy of the original letter in my possession, so that I am unable by a comparison to determine how far the publication may be just. The enemy have fabricated whole letters for me, and even a series of letters; and it is not improbable they may have given a different turn to some of my expressions in the present instance. It would however be disingenuous in me not to acknowledge that I believe the general import to be true. The copy however which Your Excellency has sent me differs in some respects from that which the enemy has published, as you will perceive by the inclosed Gazette. Whatever construction it may bear, I beg your Excellency will consider the letter as to a private friend, a Gentleman who has the direction of my concerns at home, totally unconnected with public affairs, and on whose discretion I could absolutely rely. No idea of the same kind has

ever gone to any public body.

When I say that I believe the general import of the publication to be true, I mean it in this sense, that there did appear to me a degree of delay in executing the enterprise, suggested by me, with the causes of which I was not well apprised; and an idea of this kind was, probably, expressed in my letter to Mr. Washington. As to the apparent insinuation that the first expedition had been preferred to the one proposed by me, I could not have intended to convey it,²¹ because it would have been unjust. I could not but have recollected that my *formal* proposal did not reach you till after the departure of the first Squadron.²² My letter however was written in haste, and might have been inaccurately expressed.

I have lately learnt (though not officially) that the cause of the delay I have alluded to was a want of Supplies for the Fleet. Impressed with a real esteem for, and confidence in the Chevalier Des Touches, I heard this circumstance with satisfaction.

With this explanation I leave the matter to his candor and to yours, and flatter myself it will make no impressions inconsistent with an intire perswasion of my sincere esteem and attachment. I have the honor etc.²³

21. The draft, which is by Hamilton, has at this point the following inserted by Washington: "in its fullest latitude,"

22. The draft at this point has the following inserted by Washington: "tho' the suggestion of it was previous."

23. From a photostat of the original in the Chateau de Rochambeau, France.

***To LUND WASHINGTON**

New Windsor, April 30, 1781.

Dear Lund: Your letter of the 18th. came to me by the last Post. I am very sorry to hear of your loss; I am a little sorry to hear of my own;²⁰ but that which gives me most concern, is, that you should go on board the enemys Vessels, and furnish them with refreshments. It would have been a less painful circumstance to me, to have heard, that in consequence of your non-compliance with their request, they had burnt my House, and laid the Plantation in ruins. You ought to have considered yourself as my representative, and should have reflected on the bad example of communicating with the enemy, and making a voluntary offer of refreshments to them with a view to prevent a conflagration.

It was not in your power, I acknowledge, to prevent them from sending a flag on shore, and you did right to meet it; but you should, in the same instant that the business of it was unfolded, have declared, explicitly, that it was improper for you to yield to the request; after which, if they had proceeded to help themselves, *by force*, you could but have submitted (and being unprovided for defence) this was to be preferred to a feeble opposition which only serves as a pretext to burn and destroy.

20. According to a copy found in the Toner Transcripts in the Library of Congress, taken from a manuscript memorandum made by Lund Washington in April, 1781, and inclosed in his letter of April 18, the loss suffered by Mount Vernon was principally in slaves. The British sloop of war *Savage*, commanded by Capt. Richard Graves, took "a very valuable Boat: 24 feet Keel," and the following slaves: "Peter. an old man. Lewis. an old man. Frank. an old man. Frederick. a man about 45 years old; an overseer and valuable. Gunner. a man about 45 years old; valuable, a Brick maker. Harry. a man about 40 years old, valuable, a Horseler. Tom, a man about 20 years old, stout and Healthy. Sambo. a man about 20 years old, stout and Healthy. Thomas. a lad about 17 years old, House servant. Peter. a lad about 15 years old, very likely. Stephen. a man about 20 years old, a cooper by trade. James. a man about 25 years old, stout and Healthy. Watty. a man about 20 years old, by trade a weaver. Daniel. a man about 19 years old, very likely. Lucy. a woman about 20 years old. Esther. a woman about 18 years old. Deborah. a woman about 16 years old." A later note adds: "Frederick, Frank, Gunner, Sambo, Thomas recovered in Philadelphia. Lucy, Esther were recovered after the siege of York. The Genl. pd. salvage on Tom, in Philadelphia but I cannot tell what it was. I pd. 12 Dollars expence on him from Philadelphia here, Lund Washington."

I am thoroughly perswaded that you acted from your best judgment; and believe, that your desire to preserve my property, and rescue the buildings from impending danger, were your governing motives. But to go on board their Vessels; carry them refreshments; commune with a parcel of plundering Scoundrels, and request a favor by asking the surrender of my Negroes, was exceedingly ill-judged, and 'tis to be feared, will be unhappy in its consequences, as it will be a precedent for others, and may become a subject of animadversion.

I have no doubt of the enemys intention to prosecute the plundering plan they have begun. And, unless a stop can be put to it by the arrival of a superior naval force, I have as little doubt of its ending in the loss of all my Negroes, and in the destruction of my Houses; but I am prepared for the event, under the prospect of which, if you could deposit, in safety, at some convenient distance from the Water, the most valuable and least bulky articles, it might be consistent with policy and prudence, and a mean of preserving them for use hereafter. such, and so many things as are necessary for common, and present use must be retained and run their chance through the fiery trial of this summer.

Mrs. Washington joins me in best and affectionate regard for you, Mrs. Washington and Milly Posey; and does most sincerely regret your loss. I do not know what Negros they may have left you; and as I have observed before, I do not know what number they will have left me by the

time they have done; but this I am sure of, that you shall never want assistance, while it is in my power to afford it. I am etc.

***To MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE**

New Windsor, May 4, 1781.

My dear Marquis: The freedom of your communications is an evidence to me of the sincerity of your attachment; and every fresh instance of this gives pleasure and adds strength to the band which unite us in friendship. In this light I view the intimation contained in your letter of the 23d. Ult., from Alexandria, respecting the conduct of Mr. Lund Washington.

Some days previous to the receipt of your letter, which only came to my hands yesterday; I received an acct. of this transaction from the Gentn. himself, and immediately wrote, and forwarded, the answer of which the inclosed is a copy. this Letter, which was written in the moment of my obtaining the first intimation of the matter may be considered as a testimony of my disapprobatn. of his conduct; and the transmission of it to you as a proof of my friendship; because I wish you to be assured that no man can condemn the measure more sincerely

than I do.

A false idea, arising from the consideration of his being my Steward and in that character was more than the trustee and guardian of my property than the representative of my honor has misled his judgment and plunged him into error (upon the appearance of desertion in my Negroes, and danger to my buildings) for sure I am, that no man is more firmly opposed to the enemy than he. From a thorough conviction of this, and of his integrity I entrusted every species of my property to his care; without reservation, or fear of his abusing it.

The last paragraph of my letter to him was occasioned by an expression of his fear, that all the Estates convenient to the river would be stripped of their Negroes and moveable property.

I am very happy to find that desertion had ceased, and content had taken place in the detachment you commanded. Before this letter can have reached you, you must have taken your ultimate resolution upon the proposal contained in my letters of the 21st. and 22d. of last Month and have made the consequent arrangements. I shall be silent therefore on the subject of them, and only beg, in case you should not return to this Army; and the Papers were not lost with your other Baggage

(on which event give me leave to express my concern) that you would permit Mr. Capitaine⁵⁴ to furnish me with copies of the drafts, and remarks of the Pilots (taken at Colo Deys)

54. Maj. Pierre Capitaine. He was aide to Lafayette.

on the entrance of the harbour of New York. It is possible they may be wanted, and I am not able to furnish them without your assistance.

Mrs. Washington and the rest of my (small) family which at present consists only of Tilghman and Humphrey join me in cordial salutations, and with sentiments of the purest esteem etc.

***To CHEVALIER DE CHASTELLUX**

New Windsor, May 7, 1781.

Dear Sir: Permit me, on this first occasion of writing to you, to begin my letter with congratulations on your recovered health, and I offer them sincerely.

Colo. Menonville put into my hands two days since, your favor of the 29th. Ulto.⁸⁰ If my inclination was seconded by the means, I shou'd not fail to treat this Gentleman as the friend of my friend; and if it is not in my power to comply with his wishes on the score of provisions, I will deal with him candidly by communicating the causes.

I am impressed with too high a sense of

80. Not now found in the *Washington Papers*.

the abilities and candor of the Chevr. Chartellus, to conceive that he is capable of creating false hopes; his communications therefore of the West India intelligence, comes with merited force and I would to God it were in my power to make the proper advantages of it! but if you can recollect a private conversation which I had with you in the Count de Rochambeau's chamber, you will be perswaded it is not; especially when I add that the want of wch I then complaind exists in much greater force than it did at that moment; but such preparations as can be made, I will make for the events you allude to. The candid world, and well informed Officer, will expect no more. May you participate in those blessings you have invoked heaven for me, and may you live to see a happy termn. of a struggle which was begun and has been continued for the purpose of rescuing America

from impending Slavery, and securing to its Inhabitants their indubitable rights in which you bear a conspicuous part, is the ardent wish of Dr. Sir etc.

***To JOHN SULLIVAN**

New Windsor, May 11, 1781.

Dear Sir: Not Having seen, or heard of any resolve

of Congress for establishing the principles of promotion in the Army, I am apprehensive that the report of the Committee who had this matter under consideration is now sleeping in Congress; this, and a recent instance in the Pennsylvania Regiment of Artillery, in proof of the *absolute* necessity of adopting some mode by which the whole Army may be bd, and a stop thereby be put to those disputes which keep it in a continual state of distraction and discontent, are the reasons for my troubling you again on this subject and praying, that some decision may be come to by Congress. It is much easier to avoid disagreements than to remove discontentts.; and I again declare, that If my differing in Sentiment from the opins. of the Comee. on some points has been the occasion of delay, I would, rather than have the matter lie over a moment, yield a free assent to all their propositions; for any principle is better than none. I also wish, though this is more a matter of private than public consideration that the business could be taken up on acct. of Mr. Tilghman, whose appt. seems to depd. upon it for if there are Men in the Army deserving the Comn. proposed for him, he is one of them. This Gentn. came out a Captn. of one of the light Infy Companies of Philadelphia, served in the flying Camp in 1776. In August of the same Year he joined my family and has been in every action in which the Main Army was concerned. He has been a zealous

Servant and slave to the public, and a faithful assistant to me for near five years, great part of which time he refused to receive pay. Honor and gratitude, Interests me in his favor, and makes me solicitous to obtain his Commission. His modesty and love of concord, placed the date of his expected Comn. at the first of April 1777, because he would not take rank of Hamilton and Mead, who were declared Aids in Orders (which he did not choose to be) before that period, altho' he had joined my family and did all the duties of one from the first of Septr. preceeding.

My public letters to Congress will have informed you of the Situation of this Army, and I have no scruple in giving it as my decided opn. that unless a capital change takes place soon it will be impossible for me to maintain our Posts, and keep the Army from dispersing.

The resolution of Congress to appoint Ministers of War, foreign Affairs, and finance, gave, as far as I was able to learn the Sentiments of men in and out of the Army, universal satisfaction. Postponing of the 1st, delaying of the 2d, and disagreeing about the 3rd, has had the direct contrary effect; and I can venture to assure you, not from random guess, or vague information, that the want of an able financier, and a proper plan for the disposition of

foreign loans will be a greater bar to the obtaining them, than perhaps Congress are aware of. I could say more on this subject were I at liberty but shall only add, that there is not, in my opinion a moment to be lost in placing such a character as the world conceives an opinion of, at the head of your finances, that he may, as soon as possible, enter upon the duties of his Office. I am etc.

***To JONATHAN TRUMBULL, JUNIOR**

New Windsor, May 14, 1781.

Dear Sir: In answer to your favor of the 10th., which came to my hands last night, I have to assure you, that your joining my family in the first part of June will be very convenient for me, and that I shall be happy in the event. With very great esteem etc.¹¹

11. From a photostat of the original kindly furnished by Judge E. A. Armstrong, of Princeton, N.J.

***To REVEREND EZRA STILES³¹**

New Windsor, May 15, 1781.

Sir: For the honor conferred on me by the President and Fellows of the University of Yale College, by the Degree of Doctorate in Laws,³² my warmest thanks are offered; and the polite manner in which you are pleased to request my acceptance of this distinguished mark of their favor, demands my grateful acknowledgments.

That the College in which you preside may long continue a useful Seminary of learning; and that you may be the happy instrument in the hands of Providence for raising it to honor and dignity, and making it advancive of the happiness of Mankind is the sincere wish of Sir Yr. etc.

***To THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE**

New Windsor, May 31, 1781.

My dear Marqs: I have just returned from Weathers field at which I expected to have met the Count de Rochambeau

31. President of Yale College.

32. In the *Washington Papers* in the Library of Congress.

and Count de Barras, but the British fleet having made its appearance off Block Island, the Admiral did not think it prudent to leave Newport. Count Rochambeau was only attended by Chevr. Chattellux; Generals Knox and Duportail were with me.

Upon a full consideration of our affairs in every point of view, an attempt upon New York with its present Garrison (which by estimation is reduced to 4500 regular Troops and about 3000 irregulars) was deemed preferable to a Southern operation as we had not the Command of the Water. The reasons which induced this determination were, the danger to be apprehended from the approaching heats, the inevitable dissipation and loss of Men by so long a March, and the difficulty of transportation; but above all, it was thought that we had a tolerable prospect of expelling the enemy or obliging them to withdraw part of their force from the Southward, which last would give the most effectual relief to those States. The French Troops are to March this way as soon as certain circumstances will admit, leaving about 200 Men at Providence with the heavy Stores and 500 Militia upon Rhode Island to secure the Works.

I am endeavouring to prevail upon the States to fill up their Battalions, for the Campaign; if they cannot do it upon better terms, and to send in ample and regular supplies of Provision. Thus you perceive it will be sometime

before our plan can be ripe for execution, and that a failure on our part in Men and Supplies may defeat it; but I am in hopes that the States in this quarter will exert themselves to attain what has long been a favourite and is an important object to them.

We have rumours, but I cannot say they are well founded, that the enemy are about to quit New Yk. altogether. Should they do this we must follow them of necessity, as they can have no other view

than endeavouring to sieze and secure the Southern States, if not to hold them finally, to make them the means of an advantageous Negotiation of Peace.

I take it for granted that your last dispatches inform you fully of European Affairs and that you can judge from them of the probability of such an event as I have mentioned taking place. As you have no cypher by which I can write I can write to you in safety, and my letters have been frequently intercepted of late I restrain myself from mentioning many matters I wish to communicate to you.

I shall advise you every now and then of the progress of our preparations. It would be unnecessary for you to be here at present, and I am sure you would not wish to leave your charge while you are so near an enemy, or untill you could deliver them up to General Greene or to another officer capable of exercising the command which you are

in. You will always remember My dear Marquis that your return to this army depends upon your own choice, and that I am with every sentiment of esteem regd. and Affecte. Yr. etc.

P.S. My public letter contains an answer to your several favors. We have just heard from New York that Genl. Robinson is going to supply the place of Philips.¹⁴

[C.L.]

***To THE SUPERINTENDENT OF FINANCE**

New Windsor, June 4, 1781.

Dear Sir: The present conveyance is sudden and unexpected; I have only time therefore to acknowledge the receipt of your favors of the 29th. Ult. and to assure you, that I felt a most sensible pleasure, when I heard of your acceptance of the late appointment of Congress to regulate the Finances of this Country. My hand and heart shall be with you, and as far as my assistance will, or can go, command it. We have, I am perswaded, but one object in view: the public good, to effect which, I will aid your endeavours to the extent of my abilities, and with all the powers I am vested.

I shall be happy in a meeting with you and would have wrote you more fully at this time if the bearer was not waiting I could not however refrain from embracing the first opportunity that offered of expressing the pleasure I felt at hearing, from yourself, that you had entered upon

14. Intercepted by the British.

the duties of your office, and to assure you with how much truth and sincerity I am etc.

To MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE

New Windsor, June 4, 1781.

My dear Marqs: I have this moment received information that the letters, of which the inclosed are copies, with other dispatches and the Southern Mail, were taken between this and Morristown and carried, it is supposed, into New York. It is unhappy that the communication is so insecure! and that correspondencies from one part of the Country to another are liable to such accidents!

I have received your letters of the 24th: Ulto. but cannot, as the Gentn. who bears this to Philadelphia is waiting, do more than acknowledge the safe arrival of them except entreating you not to hazard before nor after your junction with General Wayne a General Action unless you have very sure grounds to do it on. *No rational person* will condemn you for *not fighting* with the odds against [you] and while so much is depending on it; but all will censure a rash step if it is not attended with success. adieu I am &c.

***To JOHN MATHEWS**

New Windsor, June 7, 1781.

Dear Sir: I must begin this letter with an apology for having delayed the acknowledgment of your favors of the 16th of Apl. and 2d. of May till this time. and as the best excuses upon these occasions is to confess the truth, honestly, I beg leave to add that, the above letters did not reach my hands till a day or two before my departure for Weathersfield; that I did not return from that place till the 26th., and that to make the necessary arrangements consequent of the plan there agreed on have employed my time pretty much since.

The freedom of your communications is highly pleasing to me. the portrait you have drawn of our Affairs is strictly agreeable to the life, and you do me but justice in supposing that my Mind is fortified against, or rather prepared for, the most distressing Accts. that can be given of them; it would not be the part of friendship therefore to conceal any circumstance from an unwillingness to give pain, especially as the knowledge of them to a man determined not to sink under the weight of perplexities may be of the utmost importance. But we must not despair; the game is yet in our

own hands; to play it well is all we have to do, and I trust the experience of error will enable us to act better in future. A cloud may yet pass over

us, individuals may be ruined; and the Country at large, or particular States, undergo temporary distress; but certain I am, that it is in our power to bring the War to a happy conclusion.

My public letters to Congress, and in a more especial manner, my private communications to Governor Rutledge, will bring you fully acquainted with the situation of things in this quarter, and the prospects before us; how far we shall be able to extricate ourselves from the first and realize the latter, time only can shew. I have great expectations from the appointment of Mr. Morris, but they are not unreasonable ones; for I do not suppose that by Art magick, he can do more than recover us, by degrees, from the labyrinth into which our finance is plunged.

I am very sorry for the disagreeable situation of our suffering Soldiery at Charles Town, and wish they could be relieved without adding to the pressure under which we at present groan. How far it is in General Greene's power to liberate, by exchange, our Prisoners in that quarter I know not; but all the authority I can give to do this he has, reserving the Troops of Convention from his disposal. With these I have plague enough; in a late interview between the two Commissaries of Prisoners, Mr. Loring refused to exchange General Burgoyne unless the prisoners taken at the Cedars are allowed for, which is opposed by a resolve of Congress. and has actually refused to pay a debt of Privates which three

Months ago he promised to do.

Mrs. Washington who has been very unwell for some time past joins me in respectful compliments. to Mrs. Matthews. I have the honor etc.

***To ARTHUR LEE**

Hd. Qrs., New Windsor, June 7, 1781.

Dear Sir: I have had the honor to receive the letter wch. you did me the favor to write on the 19th. Ulto, and thank you for the extract taken from the letter of Mr Lee⁵⁴ of Feby. 20th. The information contained in it is important, and went to some matters which were new to me. I suspt. with you, that Mr. Lee is rather too sanguine in his expectation of a Genl Peace, within the year; but he accompanys it with a recommendn. to vigs. exerts. the most likely means to effect it, but which I fear will not have

its due weight in the Minds of the People especially if the idea of Peace once takes hold of them. I have the honr. etc.

54. William Lee.

***To JOSEPH JONES**

New Windsor, June 7, 1781.

Dear Sir: Govr. Rutlidge did me the favr to present me with your letter of the 31st. Ultio, and on my return from Weathersfield I met your other favor of the 16th. What with few aids at present, and a multiy. of business, my time has been so constantly occupied, that It has not been in my power to acknowledge the receipt of the above letters before, and now I must be hasty and indigested in my answers.

Hesitate not a moment to believe, that I am prompted by every motive which public duty, inclination, and private interest can dictate to afford every assistance in my power to the distressed States to the Southward. Virginia in particular; but to require Brick without straw was the complaint of old time. My Letter to Congress of this date, gives you the number of Men which have joined the Army since the first of Jany, under the requisitions of October. And the General return, sent to the Board of War by Govt. Rutlidge, for the Month of May; in which all those recruits are included; all the Men composing the detachment of the Marquis la Fayette; the Garrison's at Wyoming, Albany, &ca. are also included in the total of that return; judge you therefore

of my ability to afford, at this moment, effectual aid, from the remainder, to the Southward, especially when there are appearances of something serious upon the Northern Frontier of this State, from Canada.

It is much the desire of the Govr. of Virginia, as appears by his Letter of the 28th. Ultio, that I should, in person, repair to that State; it is also the expressed wish of many of my friends, and no body I perswade myself can doubt my inclination to be immediately employed in the defence of that Country, where all my property and Connexion's are; but there are powerful objections to my leaving this Army, at this time, but neither time, nor prudence, will allow me to go into a detail of them on paper; one only I will name, which is, that no other person has power to command the French Troops who are now about to form a junction with this Army. let it suffice for me to add, that I am acting on the great scale. that temporary evils must be endured where there is no remedy at hand;

that I am not without hopes the table may be turned; but these being contingent, I can promise no more than my utmost exertions; and that I am etc.

***To GOVERNOR THOMAS JEFFERSON**

Head Qrs., New Windsor, June 8, 1781.

Dear Sir: I have had the honor of receiving your Excellency's favors of the 9th. and 28th. of May. The progress which the enemy are making in Virginia is very alarming not only to the State immediately invaded but to all the rest, as I strongly suspect, from the most recent European intelligences, that they are endeavouring to make as large seeming conquests as possible that they may urge the plea of *uti possidetis* in the proposed mediation. Your Excellency will be able to judge of the probability of this conjecture from the Circular letter of the President of Congress of the 1st. Inst.

Were it prudent to commit a detail of our plans and expectations to paper I could convince Your Excellency by a variety of reasons that my presence is essential to the operations which have lately been concerted between the French Commanders and myself and which are to open in this quarter provided the British keep possession of New York. There have lately been rumours of an evacuation of that place, but I do not place confidence in them.

Should I be supported by the Neighbouring States in the manner which I expect, the enemy will, I hope, be reduced to the necessity of recalling part

of their force from the Southward to support New York or they will run the most eminent risque of being expelled with a great loss of Stores from that Post which is to them invaluable, while they think of prosecuting the War in America, and should we, by a lucky coincidence of Circumstances, gain a Naval superiority their ruin would be inevitable. The prospect of giving relief to the Southern States by an operation in this quarter, was the principal inducement for undertaking it. Indeed we found upon a full consideration of our Affairs in every point of view, that, without the command of the Water it would be next to impossible for us to transport the Artillery, Baggage, and Stores of the Army to so great a distance and besides, that we should loose at least one third of our force by desertion, Sickness, and the heats of the approaching Season even if it could be done.

Your Excellency may probably ask whether we are to remain here for the above reasons should the enemy evacuate New York and transfer the whole War to the Southward? To that I answer⁶⁶ that we must, in such case, follow them at every expence, and under every difficulty and loss; but that while we remain inferior at Sea, and there is a probability of giving relief by diversion (and that perhaps

sooner than by sending reinforcements immediately to the point in distress) good policy dictates the trial of the former.

66. At this point the draft, which is in the writing of Tilghman, has the following inserted by Washington: "without hesitation."

Give me leave before I take leave of your Excellency in your public capacity to Express the obligations I am under for the readiness and Zeal with which you have always forwarded and supported every measure which I have had occasion to recommend thro' you, and to assure you that I shall esteem myself honored by a continuation of your friendship and correspondence shou'd your Country permit you to remain in the private walk of life. I have the honor etc.

[H.S.P.]

***To COLONEL WILLIAM CRAWFORD**

New Windsor, June 9, 1781.

Dear Sir: Mr. Randolph⁷⁹ delivered me your letter of the 23rd. Ult. and some time ago I was favoured with another from you. give me leave to thank you most sincerely for yr. kind attention to my Interest, and to assure you that I shall ever hold in grateful recollection your friendly endeavors to serve me.

My whole time is, and has been since I came into the Service, so much engrossed by the public duties of my station, that I have totally neglected all my private concerns, which are declining every day, and may, possibly,

79. Capt. David Meade Randolph(?), of the Virginia State regiment.

end in capital losses, if not absolute ruin, before I am at liberty to look after them.

With respect to the round bottom, I can give little or no information; as far as a bad Memory serves me (for I have no papers by me to refer to), I located it in the Office of Mr. Thoms. Lewis, Surveyor of Augusta, and laid some rights, which I had purchased, upon it, to the amount of the contents of your Survey but what has been done in the matter since, I know not, nor am I quite certain that all I have hear said was actually done. If without giving yourself much trouble you could enquire into this matter, and pursue the necessary measures to secure this Land for me I shall acknowledge it

as an act of kindness; will repay any expence you may be run to in the prosecution of the business; and make grateful returns when it is in my power to do so. I could wish to obtain a Patent for it, after obviating other claims; for I have heard, I think, that there is a caveat to prevent my obtaining a Patent.

Can you tell me how matters stand with respect to my Racoon Tract? Are the People who live on it still unconvinced of my havg. a Patent for it? If on the contrary they know, or believe, that I have such a Patent, what do they propose to do in that case? It is hard upon me, to have property which has been fairly obtained, disputed and withheld; on the other hand, if the Settlers on the Land,

either through ignorance or disbelief of its being mine, have made improvements of value thereon and wish to live on and enjoy them, I would agree that they should remain Seven years longer upon their respective Plantns. on terms which should in their own eyes appear moderate and easy, even if it amounted to nothing more than a bear acknowledgt. subject nevertheless at the expiration of that term to such reasonable Rents as the Land and Improvemts. are worth; and shall be adjudged just for both Landlord and Tenant. Upon these terms I would give Leases for lives, or a great length of years; provided also (in the latter case especially) some mode can be adopted to let the value of the Rents every Seven or ten years, be so raised as to bear some proportion to the increased value of the Land.

I shall thank you for giving me information respecting this matter, and the round bottom; in general, what situation my landed affairs in that Country are in; it not being impossible nor yet very unlikely (as I can give no attention to them myself) that my other Patented Lands may be settled upon and claimed in the same way as that is on Racoon. I pray you also to be so kind as to let me know how Simpson⁸⁰ employs his time, his force, and my Mill. He has not that I can hear of rendered any acct. or paid one farthing for the profits of my Mill or share of the Plantation since he has been on the Land, which

80. Gilbert Simpson.

is poor encouragement for me to leave my property in his hands. Does the boundary as it is settled between Virginia and Pensylvania affect the property of those Lands which were surveyed and Patented in Virginia, but which by the late line are thrown into Pensylvania? This, I believe, is the case with respect to my Tract on Racoon Creek if no more of it.

I shall hope to receive a long and full Acct. from you on the several matters contained in this letter by the first safe oppertunity. Should Genl. Clark be able to prosecute his intended expedition and you

accompany him I sincerely wish you success in the enterprize and health to encounter the fatigues of it. My best wishes attend you, Mrs. Crawford and family; and I am etc.

***To CHEVALIER DE CHASTELLUX**

New Windsor, June 13, 1781.

My dear Chevr: I fear, from the purport of the letter you did me the honor to write from N: Port on the 9th, that my sentiments respecting the Council of War held on board the Duke de Burgoyne the 31st. of May have been misconceiv'd, and

I shall be very unhappy if they receive an interpretation different from the true intent and meaning of them. If this is the case, it can only be attributed to my not understanding the business of the Duke de Lauzen perfectly. I will rely therefore on your goodness and candor to explain, and rectify the mistake if any has happened. My *wishes* perfectly coincided with the determination of the Board of War to continue the Fleet at Rhode Island provided it could remain there in safety and with the force required and did not impede the march of the Army towards the North River. but when Duke Lauzen informed me, that my opinion of the propriety, and safety of this measure was required by the Board, and that he came hither at the particular desire of the Counts Rochambeau and de Barras, to obtain it. I was reduced to the painful necessity of delivering a sentiment different from that of a most respectable board, or of forfeiting all pretensions to candor by the concealmt. of it; upon this ground it was I wrote to the Generals to the effect I did, and not because I was dissatisfied at the alteration of the plan agreed to at Weathersfield. My fears for the safety of the Fleet, which I am now perswaded were carried too far, were productive of a belief that the Generals, when seperated, might feel uneasy at every misterious preparation of the enemy, and occasion a fresh call for Militia; this had some weight in my determination to give Boston (where I was sure no danger could be encountered but that of a

blockade) a preference to Newport, where, under *some circumstances* , though not under such as were likely to happen, something might be enterprized.

The Fleet being at Rhode Island is attended certainly with many advantages in the operations proposed and I entreat you, and the Gentlemen who were of opinion that it ought to be risqued there for these purposes will be assured, that I have a high sense of the obligation you meant to confer on America by that resolve and that your Zeal to promote the common cause and my

anxiety for the safety of so valuable a fleet were the only motives which gave birth to the apparent difference in our opinions.

I set that value upon your friendship and candor, and have that implicit belief in your attachment to America, that they are only to be equalled by the sincerity with which I have the honor etc.

***To JOSEPH WEBB**

New Windsor, June 17, 1781.

Dear Sir: Inclosed is my measure for a pair of

draw-Boots, Horse Skin²⁸ to be made of the Leather manufactured at your Works. The measure is exact, and I should be glad to have the Boots well made, neat, and sent to me as soon as possible, with the price in specie, which shall be immediately forwarded to you.

Upon my return from Weathersfield I found Mrs. Washington extremely unwell, she still continues low and Weak, but will set out for the Southward as soon as she can bear the fatigue of the journey; she joins me in compliments and best wishes to yourself, Mrs. and Miss Webb. I cannot conclude without assuring you that I have a high sense of your politeness and attention to me while I was at Weathersfield; and that I should at all times be happy to see you at head Qrs. I am etc.

***To COLONEL TIMOTHY PICKERING**

New Windsor, June 25, 1781.

Dr. Sir: One of my own Horses which I sent from Camp to be Wintered, together with the Horses which usually carried my Canteens and Portmanteaus, I am informed, are dead.

28. Boots was starred by Washington, and the two words "Horse Skin" were written in the margin with an asterisk.

These losses will occasion a call upon you for four, wch. I should be glad to receive as soon as convenient. If there is a number to choose out of, two may be natural pacers (Horses or Mares) the Canteens going easier on them. One of the other two is only to go to the length of Phila. with Mrs. Washington, one of whose Carriage Horses is, I fear, too lame to perform the Journey. To supply his

place, a bay, tolerably likely, and used to drawing, would be preferred. If I could get this Horse to day so as to enable Mrs. Washington to leave this in the Morning I could wait a few days for the others. I am etc.

[N.Y.P.L.]

***To RICHARD HENRY LEE**

Camp near Dobb's ferry, July 15, 1781.

Dear Sir: The moving state in wch. the Army was, at the time your letter of the 12th. Ult^o.¹⁹ came to hand. The junction of the Allied troops, which was upon the point of being formed; and a variety of matters which have occurred since that period, consequent of this junction rather than a disinclination to continue a correspondence the benefits of which have been in my favor must plead an excuse for my long silence. Unconscious of having given you just cause to change

19. "Although our correspondence has been long interrupted, I hope that our friendship never will, notwithstanding the arts of wicked men who have endeavored to create discord and dissension among the friends of America. For myself, having little but my good wishes to send you, it was not worth while to take up your attention a moment with them. The contents of this letter will I am sure require no apology, because you always approve that zeal which is employed in the public service, and has for its object the public good....It would be a thing for angels to weep over, if the goodly fabric of human freedom, which you have so well labored to rear, should in one unlucky moment be levelled with the dust. There is nothing I think more certain, than that your personal call would bring into immediate exertion the force and the resources of this State and its neighboring ones, which directed as it would be will effectually disappoint and baffle the deep laid schemes of the enemy."—*Richard Henry Lee to Washington*, Chantilly, June 12, 1781.

In this letter Lee inclosed a copy of one which he had written to James Lovell, Theodorick Bland, and Joseph Jones, in Congress, in which he proposed that Washington should "be immediately sent to Virginia, with 2 or 3000 good Troops. Let Congress, as the head of the federal union, in this crisis, direct that until the Legislature can convene and a Governor be appointed, the General be possessed of Dictatorial powers, and that it be strongly recommended to the Assembly when convened to continue those powers for 6.8 or 10 months: as the case may be. And the General may be desired instantly on his arrival in Virginia to summon the members of both houses to meet where he shall appoint, to organize and resettle their Government." These letters are in the *Washington Papers*.

the favourable sentiments you have expressed for me. I could not suppose you had altered them, and as I never suffer reports, unsupported by proofs, to have weight in my Mind I know no reason why our correspondence should cease, or become less frequent than heretofore, excepting, on my part, that as our affairs became more perplexing and embarrassed the public claimed more of my attention and consequently left me less leisure for private indulgencies. That this has been the case in an eminent degree for some time past, a Gentleman as well acquainted with public affairs as you are, need not be told.

The distresses of Virginia I am but too well acquainted with; but the plan you have suggested as a relief for it, in my judgment is a greater proof of your unbounded confidence in me than it is that the means proposed would be found adequate to the end in view were it practicable to make the experiment; which, at present, is not; as there are insuperable obstacles to my removing from the immediate command of the combined troops; the reasons for this opinion I cannot entrust to paper; at all times liable to miscarriage, and peculiarly so of late.

I am fully perswaded however (and upon good Military principles) that the measures I have adopted will give more effectual and speedier relief to the State of Virginia than if I was to March thither with dictatorial power at the head of every Man I could draw from hence without

leaving the important posts on the North river quite defenceless, and these States open to devastation and ravage. When I say this I would be understood to mean, if I am properly supported (and I have asked no extraordinary succours) by the States Eastward of Jersey, inclusive. My present operation and which I have been preparing for with all the zeal and activity in my power, will, I am morally certain If I am properly supported produce one of two things, the fall of New York, or a withdraw [*sic*] of the Troops from Virginia; excepting a Garrison at Portsmouth, at which place I have no doubt of the enemys intention to establish a permanent post. A Long land March, in which we never failed to dissipate half our Men. the difficulty, and expence of transportation, and other reasons not less powerful but wch. I dare not commit to writing, decided me in my present plan, and my hopes, I trust, will not be disappointed.

In half an hours conversation I could, I flatter myself, convince you of the utility of my measures; but as I have before observed, I dare not attempt it by letter, because I have already had two or three important ones intercepted in the Mails the sight of which I am perswaded occasioned the retrograde movemts. of Lord Cornwallis, and will be the means of bringing part of his force to New York. to the accomplishment of one part of my plan.

The fatal policy of short enlistments (the primary cause of all our misfortunes; the prolongation of

the War; and the source of the immense debt under which we labour) is now shedding its baneful influence upon our measures and I am laboring under all the disadvantages and evils which result from them and the want of Men. It can be no News to tell you, that by the expiration of the terms of enlistment I was left last Winter with a force so much reduced as to be scarcely able to garrison West point; but it may be News, and is not less true than surprising to you, to hear that not half the Men which were required to be with the Army, as recruits for the Continental Battens., by the first day of Jany., last are yet arrived; and of those asked by me from the Militia, not one is come.

But a few words more and I will put an end to this long letter No endeavour of mine has been wanting to obtain a superiour naval force in these Seas, nor to employ that which we have, to valuable purposes; how far I have succeeded in the latter is but too obvious; how far I may see my wishes accomplished in the former, time must discover. with great esteem etc.²⁰

20. This draft is indorsed by Washington, with the following note: "In *copying* the inclosed some sentences were transposed, and alterations and corrections made in the direction which time did not allow me to make in this due sentiments however were the same,"

TO CHEVALIER DE CHASTELLUX

Head Quarters, July 19, 1781.

Dear Sir: You have taken a most effectual method of obliging me to accept your Cask of Claret, as I find, by your ingenious manner of stating the case, that I shall, by a refusal, bring my patriotism into question, and incur a suspicion of want of attachment to the French Nation, and of regard to you, [which. of all things I wish to avoid] I will not enter into a discussion of the point of divinity, as I [perceive] you are a Master at that Weapon.

In short, my dear sir, my only scruple arises from a fear of depriving you of an Article that you cannot conveniently replace in this Country. You can only relieve me by promising to partake very often of that hilarity which a Glass of good Claret seldom fails to produce. I am etc.⁴⁴

***To JOHN PARKE CUSTIS**

Dobbs's ferry, July 25, 1781.

Dear Custis: Your letter of the 11th, covering certain

44. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

proposals which were made by you to Mr. Robt. Alexander, came safe by the last Post. I read the latter with attention, and think they are founded on principles of liberality and justice; as far as I can form a judgment without seeing the Mortgage, or having recourse to the original Agreement, and the Missives which may have passed between you.

How far the purchase on your part, and the sale on Alexander's, was a matter of speculation at the time of bargaining, yourselves, and the nature of the agreement, *alone* can determine. If from the tenor of your contract you were to pay paper money; if this paper money was at that time in a depreciated state; and the difference between it and Specie fixed and known; and if moreover, Alexander like many others, entertained an opinion that it would again appreciate, and a paper dollar become equal in value to a silver one, it might be more just than generous (as the money is in fact worth little or nothing now) to let him abide the consequences of his opinion by paying him in depreciated paper: because the presumption is, that he would have made no allowance for appreciation, tho' the former should be of equal value with the latter, pound for pound. But this as I have before observed depends upon the nature of the Bargain, and the light in which the matter was understood at the time it was made, by both parties.

If the Bargain was unaccompanied

by particular circumstances, and had no explanatory meaning, but simply imported that so much Money was to be given for so much land, to be paid on or before a certain period; it is certainly optional in you to discharge it at any time you please short of that period; but I conceive that this can only be done by an actual tender of the money; and that, there is no other obligation. or type upon Alexr. to take your Bond (with any security whatever) but the fear of loosing the original debt, or the Interest of it, by refusing the tender you propose to make him, of £48,000 at this time; because I hold it as a maxim that no Man can be compelled to change the nature of his debt, or alter the security of it, without his own consent.

I have before said, that for want of the Mortgage, and a knowledge of all the circumstances attending your bargain, it is impossible for me to give a decided opinion. Your proposals appear to be fair and equitable; but what views Alexander may have had, and how far he is prepared to support himself in those views by any written, or other valid proof, I am unable to say. As an honest man he ought to be content with Justice, and Justice I think you have offered him.

You may recollect, that I disliked the terms of your bargain when they were 1st. communicated to me, and wished then that you might not find them perplexing and disadvantageous in the end; as I now do that you may settle the matter with honor, and satisfaction to yourself.

It gave me pain to hear that you had been so much afflicted with sickness among your People and that you thought your Son in danger. It would give me equal pleasure to learn that he, and the rest of your family, were restored to perfect health.

That so few of our Countrymen have joined the enemy, is a circumstance not less pleasing to me, than it must be mortifyingly convincing to them, of the falacy of their assertion that $\frac{1}{2}$ of the people were in their Intert, and ready to join them when opportunity offered; had this been the case the Marquis's force and the other $\frac{1}{2}$ must have abandoned the Country. I am much pleased with your choice of a Governor. He is an honest man, active, spirited and decided, and will, I dare say, suit the times as well as any person in the State.⁷⁰

You were lucky, considering the rout by which the enemy retreated to Williamsburg to sustain so little damage. I am of opinion that Lord Cornwallis will establish a strong post at Portsmouth, detach part of his force to New York, and go with the residue to So. Carolina. I returned yesterday from reconnoitring (with Count de Rochambeau and the Engineers of both Armies) the enemys works near Kings bridge; we lay close by them two days and a Night without any attempt on their part, to prevent it;

70. Thomas Nelson, jr.

they kept up a random Cannonade, but to very little effect. I am waiting impatiently for the Men the States (this way) have been called upon for, that I may determine my plan, and commence my operations.

My best wishes attend Nelly Custis (who I hope is perfectly recovered) and the little girls. And my complaints. await enquiring friends. Sincerely and affectly. etc.

***To GOVERNOR THOMAS NELSON**

Camp near Dobbs' ferry, August 7, 1781.

My dear Sir: Among your numerous friends, none will be found whose congratulations on your appointment to the Administration of the Affairs of Virginia, are offered with more cordiality and sincerity than mine.

It is long since I had the pleasure of writing to, or receiving a letter from you, but as I am conscious that the silence on my part is not a consequence of diminished friendship, I am equally ready to acquit you of a change in yours.

The prest. crisis is important, and

valuable uses might be made of it, but the hours are fleeting away much faster than we improve them; in proof of this I have only to add that not one half of the Men that was called for to compose this Army, and which ought by the requisitions of Congress to have joined it by the first of Jany. are yet arrived; nor do I know when they will. After bringing you acquainted with this serious and important fact, I need not detail smaller matters of disappointment and difficulty to shew the irksomeness of my present situation. I have the consolation however to think that, the measures adopted for the operations of the Campaign will effect one part of my plan, namely, the withdraw of part of the enemy's force from the Southwd. and consequently enable those States to manage the remainder with more ease and less expense.

As all new appointments of Officers in the several State lines is vested in the Executive of each, I take the liberty of recommending William Fitzhugh Esqr. third Son of Colo. Fitzhugh of Maryland, for a Commission in Baylor's Dragons. I have not the pleasure of his acquaintance, but am told that he is a promising young Gentleman, well educated, and about 20 Years of age. Such characters are an acquisition to any Corps; and his father, equally with himself, is desirous of his entering the above where he has a Brother already commissioned;

but who, at present, is serving in my family as an extra aid de Camp.⁵² I beg the favour of you to present my respectful Compliments to your lady, and that you would be assured, that with sentiments of purest esteem and regard etc.

***TO COLONEL WILLIAM FITZHUGH**

Camp near Dobbs' ferry, August 8, 1781.

Dear Sir: I stand indebted to you for two letters, dated the 26th. of April and 29th. of May; the reason why I did not immediately answer so much of much of the first as related to your Son William,⁶³ was the hourly expectation I was in of seeing his Brother the Captain,⁶⁴ from whom I expected to know what Corps would be preferred. Not doing this till the middle of June, my answer was protracted till I was informed that he had changed his views, and was about to enter the suite of General Smallwood. This rendering an answer to that part of the letter in some degree unnecessary, the moving state of the Army, and the junction which was formed with the Auxiliary

52. Lieut. Col. Peregrine Fitzhugh.

63. William Frisbie Fitzhugh.

64. Peregrine Fitzhugh.

Troops immediately after, has been the occasion of my silence till I was informed by the Captain that his Brother had revived his first intention of getting an appointment in the Cavalry which has induced me to write to both Gov. Nelson and Gen. Greene, recommending him to a Commission in Baylors Cavalry. I have no doubt of his succeeding if there is a vacancy in the Regiment.

There is scarce a stage of the Campaign, or an occurrence that happens in it, that does not exhibit some proof of the fatal policy of short enlistments, and of the immense expence we are involved in by them. The enemy never fail to take advantage in some quarter or another, of the weak state of our Army, which we, if an opening presents itself, have men to raise (by enormous bounties) before advantage can be taken of it, which occasions such a lapse of time that the favourable moment is passed, and the enemy is prepared for us by a transport of their Troops.

The force called for and which I ought to have had by the first of Jany. is not yet arrived, nor do I know when to expect it. the Season is rapidly advancing, and the enemy, if reports and appearances do not deceive us, is in hourly expectation of a reinforcement from Virginia at New York; thus it is we are always labouring, always accumulating expense, and always disappointed of our object.

It is much

to be feared that the Campaign will waste away as the last did in a fruitless attempt to get men; who are procured in such a manner, and for such short periods, that the first who came into the field are about leaving it, as the last arrives by which means an enormous expense is incurred, and no benefit derived; as we never have a sufficient force at any period to answer our purposes.

I am clearly in Sentiment with you, that all emissions of Paper money ought to be subject to a supreme direction to give it a proper stamina, and universal credit; and that good and sure funds should be appropriated for the redemption of it; but in this, as in most other matters, the States individually have acted so independantly of each other as to become a mere rope of sand, and to totter upon the brink of ruin at a time when the independancy of them, if the resources which have been drawn forth, had been applied to great objects by one common head, would have been as unshaken as Mount Atlas, and as regardless of the efforts of Great Britain to destroy it, as she is of the unheeded tempests that pass over her.

It was with much concern [I heard of your second loss by the]⁶⁵ Pirates of the Bay, and of the Insults Mrs. Fitzhugh and yourself had received from them. My Compliments attend her, and with very great esteem and regard I am etc.

[N.Y.H.S.]

65. Mutilated. The words in brackets have been supplied from the draft, which, also, is in the writing of Washington.

***To MAJOR GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE**

Camp before York, October 6, 1781.

How happy am I, my dear Sir, in at length having it in my power to congratulate you upon a victory as splendid as I hope it will prove important. Fortune must have been coy indeed had she not yielded at last to so persevering a pursuer as you have been; I hope now she is yours, she will change her appellation of fickle to that of constant.

I can say with sincerity that I feel with the highest degree of pleasure the good effects which you mention as resulting from the perfect good understanding between you the Marquis and myself. I hope it will never be interrupted, and I am sure it never can while we are all influenced by the same pure motive, that of love to our Country and interest⁸¹ in the cause in which we are embarked. I have happily had but few differences with those with whom I have the honor of being connected in the Service; with whom, and of what nature these have been, you know. I bore much for the sake of peace and the public good. My conscience tells me I acted rightly in these transactions, and should they ever come to the knowledge of the world I trust I shall stand

81. Washington here inadvertently repeated the words "and interest."

acquitted by it.

The Baron,⁸² from the warmth of his temper, had got disagreeably involved with the State, and an enquiry into part of his conduct must one day take place, both for his own honor and their satisfaction. I have for the present given him a command in this Army which makes him happy.

I shall always take pleasure in giving Mrs. Greene's letters a conveyance and shd. she persist in the resolution of undertaking so long a journey as that from New England to Carolina I hope she will make Mount Vernon, (where Mrs. Knox now is) a stage of more than a day or two. With much truth and sincere affection etc.

[M.L.]

***To MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE**

Mount Vernon in Virginia, November 15, 1781.

Not till the 5th. My dear Marqs was I able to leave York, providing for the detachment that was to go Southerly; Embarking the Troops that were to

82. Baron Steuben.

go Northerly; making a distribution of the Ordnance and Stores for various purposes, and disposing of the Officers and other prisoners to their respective places of destination would not admit of my leaving that part of the Country sooner.

On that day I arrived at Eltham (the Seat of Colo. Bassett) time enough to see poor Mr. Custis breathe his last; this unexpected and affecting event threw Mrs. Washington and Mrs. Custis (who were both present) into such deep distress, that the circumstances of it and a duty I owed the deceased in assisting at his funeral rights prevented my reaching this place till the 13th; and business here, and on the road will put it out of my power to arrive at Philadelphia before the last days of the prest. Month.

As this may extend to a later period than your business in that City may require, I owe it to friendship, and to my affectionate regard for you, My dear Marqs not to let you leave this Country

without carrying with you fresh marks of my attachment to you; and new expressions of the high sense I entertain of your Military conduct, and other important Services, in the course of last Campaign; altho' the latter are too well known to need the testimony of my approbation, and the former, I persuade myself you believe is too well riveted to

undergo diminution or change.

As you expressed a desire to know my Sentiments respecting the operations of next Campaign before your departure for France I will, without a tedious display of reasoning, declare in one word, that the advantages of it to America, and the honor and glory of it to the Allied Arms in these States, must depend *absolutely* upon the Naval force which is employed in these Seas, and the time of its appearance next year. No land force can act decisively unless it is accompanied by a Maritime superiority; nor can more than negative advantages be expected without it; for proof of this, we have only to recur to the instances of the ease and facility with which the British shifted their ground as advantages were to be obtained at either extremity of the Continent, and to their late heavy loss the moment they failed in their Naval Superiority. To point out the further advantages which might have been obtained in the course of this year if Count de Grasse could have waited, and would have covered a further operation to the Southward, is unnecessary; because a doubt did not, nor does at this moment remain upon any Mans Mind of the total extirpation of the British force in the Carolina's and Georgia, if he could have extended his co-operation two Months longer.

It follows then as certain as that night succeeds the day, that without a decisive Naval force we can do nothing definitive. and with it, every thing honourable and glorious. A constant Naval superiority would terminate the War speedily; without it, I do not know that it will ever be terminated honourably. If this force should appear early, we shall have the whole Campaign before us. The Months of June to September Inclusive, are well adapted for operating in any of the States to the Northward of this; and the remaining Months are equally well suited to those South of it: in which time, with such means, I think much, I will add, every thing, might be expected.

How far the policy of Congress may carry them, towards filling their Continental Battalions, does not lay with me to determine, this Measure (before and since the Capitulation) has been strongly recommended by me. Should it be adopted by that Body, and executed with energy in the several States, I think our force (comprehending the Auxiliary Troops now here) will be fully competent to all the purposes of the American War, provided the British force on this Continent remains nearly as it now is; but as this is a contingency which depends very much upon political manœuvres in

Europe, and as it is uncertain how far *we* may be in a state of preparation at the opening of the next Campaign, the propriety of augmenting the present Army under the Comd of

Count de Rochambeau is a question worthy of consideration; but as it lyes with Congress to determine, I shall be silent on the subject.

If I should be deprived of the pleasure of a personal interview with you before your departure, permit me my dear Marquis to adopt this method of making you a tender of my ardent Vows for a propitious voyage, a gracious reception from your Prince, an honorable reward for your Services, a happy meeting with your lady and friends, and a safe return in the Spring to My dear Marqs., Yr. etc.

P.S. I beg you to present my best respects to the Viscount de Noaille and let him know that my warmest wishes attend him.

***To BARTHOLOMEW DANDRIDGE**

Mt. Vernon, November 19, 1781.

Dear Sir: Mrs. Custis, to whom I have spoken on the Subject very much approves of your administring upon Mr. Custis's Estate and thinks, as I do, that you had better undertake it alone, than jointly with her.

If it is necessary to have a Guardian appointed to the Children before the Administration is compleated, and the Estate divided It is much my wish that you (as the Natural friend and nearest relation proper for it) should undertake this trust also. As far as it may ever be in my power to afford you assiste. or share the burthen of it I shall chearfully do it.

I will desire Mr. Lund Washington to have, at all events, a Court in Jany; and Securities ready to engage for your Administration and Guardianship, if it should be adjudged necessary to appoint the latter.

When you come up I wish your time may not be so limited as to prevent your Examining into the situation of Mr. Custis's affairs in this quarter. Every assistance which Mr. Lund Washington can give you in the business, will, I am perswaded be afforded with pleasure. The purchase of Alexander's Land will I fear be the most difficult and perplexing matter of all. I shall commense my journey for the Northward to morrow. Mrs. Washington goes with me, She and Mrs. Custis join in best wishes and sincerest love to you and the rest of our friends around you with Dr. Sir &c.

To PETER WAGGONER AND OTHERS

Mount Vernon, November 20, 1781.

Dear Sir: The late unfortunate death of John Parke Custis Esq, makes it necessary that an Administration of his Estate should be granted to some person. It is proposed that the Honble Bartholomew Dandridge Esq, should take it upon him, and that I should become his security. But as Mr Dandridge is not here at present and is in some measure a Stranger, and I am obliged to go immediately to the Northward, difficulties may occur in the matter, unless You and some Other Gentlemen, My Friends, will be so obliging as to enter into the necessary and usual securityships for him. I shall esteem it a great favor conferred on me, if You and any Other of my Friends will do this, when he comes up to take the Administration [at the Jany Court] and this Letter shall be Obligatory upon me as an indemnity for your and their so doing; and besides, I shall be ready at any moment to enter into Any Counterbond for the better securing You All, for your conduct in the business; [and for your becoming Securities for his Guardianship to the Children, if it shall be adjudged necessary to appoint him to this trust at that, or any other time.] I would do it now, if I knew the Gentlemen who would engage for Mr Dandridge's

Administration. I am etc.²²

22. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The words in brackets are in the writing of Washington.

***To MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE**

Philadelphia, January 4[-5], 1782.

My dear Marqs: I cannot suffer Colo. Gemat to leave this City, for France, without a remembrancer from me, to you.

I have remained at this place ever since you left it, and am happy in having discovered the best disposition imaginable in Congress to prepare vigorously for another Campaign. They have resolved to keep up the same number of Corps, as constituted the Army of last year and have urged the States, warmly, to compleat them. Requisitions of money are also made, but how far the abilities, and inclinations of the States individually to tax heavily will coincide with the views of Congress is

more than I am able, at this early period, to inform you. A further pecuniary aid from your generous nation, and a decisive Naval force upon this Coast in the latter end of May or beginning of June; unlimited in its stay and operations, would, unless the resources of Great Britain are inexhaustible, or She can form powerful Alliances, bid fair to finish the War in the course of next campaign with the ruin of that People.

The first, that is an aid of money, would enable our Financier to support the expences of the War with ease and credit without anticipating, or deranging

those funds which Congress are endeavouring to establish, and which will be productive though they may be slow in the establishment. The second, a Naval superiority, would compel the enemy to draw their whole force to a point, which would not only disgrace their Arms by the relinquishmt. of Posts, and the States which they affect to have conquer'd, but might, eventually, be fatal to their Army: or by attempting to hold these Posts be cut off in detail. So that in either case the most important good consequences would result from the measure.

General Lincoln has accepted his appointment of Secretary at War; proper plans of œconomy are adopting in every department, and I do not despair of seeing, ere long our Affairs under much better management than they have been; which will open a New Field, productive it is to be hoped, of a fruitful harvest.

As you will have received, in a more direct channel than from hence, the news of the surprize and re-capture of St. Eustatia by the Arms of France, I shall only congratulate you on the Event; and add, that it marks, in a striking point of view, the genius of the Marqs. De Bouille⁵⁷ for Enterprize, and for intripidity and resources in difficult circumstances. His conduct upon this occasion does him infinite honor.

I shall be impatient to hear of your safe arrival in France, and to receive such communications

57. François Claude Armour, Marquis de Bouillé, marechal de camp.

as *you know* will be interesting to the cause we espouse, and in which we are Actors.

Though unknown to Madam La Fayette I beg you to present me to her as one of her greatest admirers. Be so good also, as to make a tender of my best wishes to Duke de Lauzen and other Gentlemen of the Army of Count de Rochambeau who may be in the circle of your friends, and with whom I have the honor of an Acquaintance.

With sentiments of purest Affection, etc.

Jany. 5th. P.S. Since writing the foregoing, I have had the letter and resolves herewith sent, put into my hands by the Delegates of Virginia in Congress. I have a peculiar pleasure in becoming the channel, through which the just and grateful plaudits of my Native State, are communicated to the Man I love.

By advices just received from So Carolina the Enemy have evacuated all their Posts in that State and have concentered their whole Force in Charles town. Wilmington is also evacuated, and North Carolina freed of its Enemys. The disaffected part of the State are suing for mercy and executing, it is said, some of their own leaders for having misguided them.⁵⁸

58. In the Toner Transcripts in the Library of Congress is a copy, source not given, of a letter dated January 4, addressed to the Marquis de Chastellux. It begins: "I cannot suffer your old acquaintance, Mrs. Custis, to proceed to Williamsburg without taking with her a remembrancer of my friendship for you." The remainder of the letter, with some omissions and a different word arrangement, is the same as that to Lafayette above.

***To GOVERNOR BENJAMIN HARRISON**

Philadelphia, January 15, 1782.

My dear Sir: Unacquainted as I am with the cause of my friend Nelson's resignation, I shall say nothing respecting it; but as the event has taken place, permit me to congratulate you, and my Country on your late appointment to the Government; and to assure you, that you have few friends who wish you more honor and satisfaction in managing the reigns of it than I do. You have certainly embarked on a troubled Sea; but as the helm will be in good hands, I shall have no doubts of the Steerage.

I intended to have wrote you a long letter, and had set down with sufficient time for the purpose, but a thousand interruptions has brought me to the hour of the Posts departure, at this stage of it; I cannot, nevertheless, conclude without beseeching you in the most earnest manner to use your influence with the Assembly, to grant the supplys called for by Congress, and to pursue vigorous measures for next Campaign; for be assured My dear Sir, that the capture of the Army in Virginia will be a real misfortune to us if it is productive of relaxation and langor; the blow must be followed up

or we have done nothing. Policy, true interest and œconomy require this, and it is most devoutly to be

wished that, the States would make one great effort to put an end to a War which if lingered out, must be ruinous to them, and distressing in the greatest degree to those who are the principal Actors in it. I shall only add that I am etc.

***To WILLIAM FITZHUGH**

Philadelphia, February 8, 1782.

Dear Sir: The letter of which the inclosed is duplicate, and put under cover for you to forward, will, I hope, produce the effect you wish it to have, with Count de Grasse. The original, I shall request the Minister of France to send with his first dispatches to the West Indies.

I thank you for the communications in your letter of—. The present moment will not allow me to add more than my congratulatory Compliments to Mrs. Fitzhugh and yourself on the Marriage of the Captain, to whom and his young bride I wish every imaginable joy. please to make a tender of my best respects to Colo. and Mrs. Plater.⁵⁰ With much truth etc.

[N.Y.H.S.]

50. Col. George Plater.

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL JOHN LAURENS

(Private)

Philadelphia, February 18, 1782.

My Dear Laurens: I have had the pleasure to receive your favor of the 10th of Decr. and also the Report of the judicious and successful Movement of General Greene, by which he compelled the Enemy to abandon their Out Posts. This brilliant manœuvre is another proof of the singular abilities, that Officer possesses.

Since my last Dispatches from So Carolina, I have been informed, via Virginia, of the intelligence Genl Greene had received that a reinforcement was expected from Ireland, of the application he had made in consequence to the Count de Rochambeau and the resolution the Count had taken, of detaching the Legion of Lauzun to his aid. I hope this force, together with the Corps of Armand, will give such a decided superiority of Cavalry, as will prevent the Enemy from re-occupying and ravaging the Country again, should the whole Reinforcement from Ireland arrive and I must confess, I cannot entirely rely upon it, as I have not heard the intelligence from any other quarter, although a Frigate has just arrived at New York with the King of England's speech, and Dispatches from Administration. Nothing however has transpired, except the Speech, from the complexion of

which, no decisive Opinion can be formed.

But I think a little time will disclose what the Enemys intentions are, (should they still persist in the prosecution of the War) whether they mean to occupy the two great Posts of New York and Charles Town, or centre the whole of their force together. In the former case, Reinforcements may undoubtedly be expected, and I know of nothing which can be opposed to them with such a prospect of success as the Corps you have proposed should be levied in Carolina.²

To make the Campaign decisive is our great object, I wish that the States might be impressed with the necessity of taking their measures accordingly, and that the war might not be procrastinated by want of exertion on our part.

Believe me, My dear Laurens, I am convinced, under all circumstances, of your unbounded zeal in the service of your Country. That success may ever attend you in the pursuit of personal glory and public felicity, is the earnest wish of Your etc.

P.S. The Gentlemen of the family request their affectionate Regards may be presented to you.³

2. A corps of Negro levies.

3. The draft is in the writing of David Humphreys.

***To JAMES McHENRY**

Philadelphia, March 12, 1782.

My dear Sir: The fair hand⁸⁷ to whom your letter of the 20th. of Jany. was committed presented it safe, and as you rightly observd, the value of it was enhanced by it.

Good Laws, ample means, and sufficient powers, may render the birth of your Intendant⁸⁸ a public benefit; and from the Spirit of your people I hope these are provided; *without* them the appointment must be nugatory. Never, since the commencement of the present revolution, has there been, in my judgment, a period when vigorous measures were more consonant with sound policy than the present. The Speech of the British King, and the Addresses of the Lords and Commons are evincive proofs to my Mind of two things, namely their wishes to prosecute the American War, and their fears of the consequences. My opinion therefore of the matter is, that the Minister will obtain supplies for the current year, prepare vigorously for another Campaign, and then prosecute the War or treat of Peace as circumstances and fortuitous events may justify; and, that nothing will contribute more to the first than a relaxation, or apparent supiness on the part of these States. The debates upon the Addresses evidently prove what I have here advanced to be true. For these addresses,

87. Mrs. Richard Benjamin Lloyd.

88. "We are just about closing our session. The only novelty which it has given birth to, is a man called an Intendant, whom we have vested with great powers, and who is to destroy that disorder in our affairs which has arisen chiefly from a bad money and want of money."— *McHenry to Washington*, Jan. 20, 1782. McHenry's letter is in the *Washington Papers*. Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer had been appointed the Intendant.

as explained, are meant to answer any purpose the Ministers may have in view. What madness then can be greater, or policy and œconomy worse, than to let the enemy again rise upon our folly and want of exertion? Shall we not be justly chargeable for all the blood and treasure which shall be wasted in a lingering War, procrastinated by the false expectation of Peace, or timid measures for the prosecution of it? surely we shall, and much is to be lamented that our endeavours do not at all times accord with our wishes; each State is anxious to see the end of our Warfare accomplished, but shrinks when it is called upon for the means! and either withholds them altogether, or grants them in such a way as to defeat the end. such, It is to be feared, will be the case in many instances respecting the requisitions of Men and Money.

I have the pleasure however to inform you that the Assembly of this State,⁸⁹ now setting, have passed their Supply Bill without a dissenting voice, and that a laudable spirit seems to pervade all the Members of that body but I fear notwithstanding, they will be deficient of their quota of Men. It

is idle at this late period of the War, when enthusiasm is cooled if not done away; when the Minds of that class of men who are proper subjects for Soldiers are poisoned by the high bounties which have been given; and the knowledge of the distresses of the Army so generally diffused through every State, to suppose that our Battalions can be compleated by voluntary enlistment; the attempt is vain and we are only deceiving

89. Pennsylvania.

ourselves and injuring the Cause by making the experiment; there is no other *effectual* method to get Men suddenly, but that of classing the People and compelling each class to furnish a Rect., here every Man is interested; every Man becomes a recruiting Officer. If our necessities for Men did not press, I should prefer the mode of voluntary Enlistment to all others to obtain them, as it does, I am sure it will not answer. and that the Season for enterprise will be upon us long e're we are ready for the Field.

The anxious state of Suspense in which we have been for some time, and still remn., respecting the Naval engagement in the West Indies and attempt upon Brimstone hill in the Isld. of St. Kitts, is disagreeable beyond description; the Issue of these must be very interesting and may give a very unfavourable turn to affairs in that Quarter and to America in its consequences. With much sincerity and Affection, etc.

***To COLONEL JOHNSTON⁹⁷**

Philadelphia, March 15, 1782.

Dear Sir: You will very much oblige me by giving

97. Col. Francis(?) Johnston.

information whether any, or what measures are necessary to be pursued by Land holders in cases.

"Where Lands have been Surveyed and patented under the Authority of the State of Virginia, and the charges accruing thereon paid to the proper Officers of that Government; but, upon the late settlement of boundary between the two Commonwealths, and extension of the Western line, are found to be within the limits of Pennsylvania"?

Many cases of this sort are within my view, and a Gentleman of my acquaintance has requested me to make the above enquiry. You will excuse the trouble of it, and believe me to be with great esteem etc.

To PHILIP SCHUYLER

Philadelphia, March 16, 1782.

Dear Sir: I have only leisure to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 6th by the return of Mr Renselaer; and to thank you for your attention, in keeping me so constantly and minutely advised, of the matters in agitation, as well as the general system of policy in your quarter.

I have the pleasure to congratulate you, on the capture of St. Christophers, Nevis and Monserat by our allies; Although there is no official intelligence of this success, it comes in such a manner as that I have no doubt of the authenticity of it. With every Sentiment &c.⁴

***To JOSEPH REED**

Philadelphia, March 18, 1782.

Dr Sir: I have given The Adj. General the necessary orders respecting the matter you mentioned to me to day, and he will direct the officers Commanding at the Barracks; Colonels Humpton and Nicola, and Mr. Colfax¹⁵ (of my Guard) to be particularly attentive to the Men under their respective Commands. In confidence, I have mentd the reason to Genl. Hand, but he will assign none to the Officers to whom he gives the order, excepting that it is to prevent any kind of Riot or tumult; altho' I would fain perswade myself that no insult¹⁶ will be offered to you this day, yet under the bare possibility of it, it is best for Mrs. Washington to deprive herself of the pleasure she proposed

4. The draft is in the writing of David Humphreys.

15. Lieut. William Colfax, of the Fifth Connecticut Regiment. He was detailed to the Commander in Chief's Guard; promoted to captain of the Second Connecticut Regiment in January, 1783; served to November, 1783.

16. On account of the local Philadelphia political tension at that time.

of drinking Tea with you this afternoon, and I beg the favor of you to excuse her to Miss Reed. I am etc.

***To JAMES WILSON**

Philadelphia, March 22, 1782.

Dear Sir: Necessity obliges me to give you my promissory Note instead of the deposit of a hundred Guineas. I will take it up as soon as I can.

Permit me to recommend my Nephew³⁸ to you; not only as a Student requiring your instruction, but to your attention as a friend. His youth and inexperience may require it, and I persuade myself his sensibility and gratitude will make you every return which may be in his power.

If the funds, which his Father has provided for him, should fail, and he stand in need of Money, I will see any sum which can be borrowed for his use repaid with Interest. With much truth I am etc.

38. Bushrod Washington, who studied law under James Wilson.

On March 22 Washington wrote to John Laurens: "I shall with great pleasure, pay the further sum which may be due for the articles you brought from France for me, when called upon. I am sorry that the raising of the black corps, hung in suspense when you last wrote; but hope if your Assembly then about to sit adopted the measure, it is now in a degree of forwardness, and may be useful to the public cause. ... I am within an hour of setting off for the Army on the No. River, and surrounded with visitors." This letter was sold at auction in 1895.

On this same day (March 22) the deputy quartermaster at Philadelphia receipted to Lieutenant Colfax for a quantity of furniture and household utensils returned by the Commander in Chief. This receipt is in the *Washington Papers*.

On March 23 Washington was at Burlington, N.J.

***To MAJOR GENERAL HENRY KNOX**

York Hutts,⁵¹ March 30, 1782.

My dear Sir: You are too well acquainted with my opinion of certain characters in this State, especially one whom I am told is now an attendant on you at Elizabeth Town, to need a repetition of it at this time; but I wish it were possible for you to guard your colleague against the arts, and the disadvantages which certainly will result from a free intercourse of Sentiments with the person I allude to, on points, the knowledge of which, can avail the B. Commissioners.

I have every reason short of positive proof, to believe the person here meant, is a traitor to this Country; that he is in pay of the enemy; and that every piece of information which he can extract from Mr. —⁵² will be communicated to the Comrs. on the other side, judge then how far you will be able to carry points that depend upon secresy, address, and good management.⁵³

You will readily perceive that this is a confidential letter, written for the best of purposes. I need not add how much I am etc.

[MS.H.S.]

51. The draft has "near Pompton."

52. Gouverneur Morris.

53. At this point the draft, which is also in the writing of Washington, has the following, which was omitted in the letter sent: "You will be, I have no doubt, attended by other persons of similar characters; but none, for obvious reasons, so dangerous."

***To REVEREND EZRA STILES⁵⁸**

Newburgh, April 1, 1782.

Sir: On my way from Philadelphia to this place, I had the pleasure to receive your favor of the 20th. of March, covering an Oration delivered by Mr. Tutor Meigs⁵⁹ on the surrender of Lord Cornwallis. I entreat you will make that Gentleman sensible of the high gratification I have received from his ingenious performance; and that you will be convinced of the ardent passion I have for the promotion of the cause of Literature in general, and especially of the pleasure I feel in the encreasing

reputation and utility of the *Seat of Learning* under your immediate direction. With every sentiment of personal regard etc.

[H.S.P.]

***To BRIGADIER GENERAL MOSES HAZEN**

Newburgh, April 10, 1782.

Dear Sir: Your letter of the 26th of March from Lancaster came very safe, and I thank you for the sentiments

58. President of Yale College.

59. "An oration pronounced before a public assembly in New Haven on the 5th day of November, 1781" by Josiah Meigs. (New Haven: 1782.) A copy of this oration is in the Library of Congress.

contained in it; which appear to me to be well digested, and the result of close thinking. I can only repeat what I observed to you at Philadelphia, that the end of all these enquiries is to obtain a perfect knowledge of the vulnerable parts of the enemy; that when the means of attack are unfolded to me, and put into my hands I may know how to direct them. Upon this principle it is I wish to have your answers to the following quæries, most of which have resulted from your letter.

1st. How far is the enemy's advanced Post at Detorms Mills on Yamasco Rivr. from St. Dennis; From St. Johns, and from Sorrel?

2d. If the Road is directed to St. Dennis how far will it (in the nearest place) leave St. Johns on the left?

3d. Will not a road West of the Green Mountain have its left flank much exposed to any force which may be Embarked on the Lake? and will not the communication be open and exposed that whole distance, and even from Hudson's River, to the Indians in the vicinity of Niagara? Is it not probable that as these Indians (the Six Nations I mean) have already joined the enemy that they will continue to aid them?

4th. What kind of a Country will this road, if opened, pass through? What would be the difficulty of opening it? and what would be the general distance of it from

lake Champlain?

5th. Would it not be better to pass up Hudsons river to Fort Edward, from thence to Wood Creek, and from thence to Ticonderoga or Crown point (establishing a Post at one or the other of those places for the benefit of Water carriage to it) than to March by the way of Benington to Manchester?

6th. How far from St. Johns, and at what place would the two Roads unite?

N B. By Hollands Map it does not appear to be more than 45 Miles from Lake Champlain, North of Otter Creek, to Co'os, and that the Roads from those two points would continually incline towards each other till they formed a junction near the Canada line at, or above the No. Et. end of Michiscoui bay. But as Maps which are not laid down from actual Survey are deceptive, and Swamps or Mountns. not accurately defined render even those that are uncertain I should be glad to have your opinion upon the two quæries last stated.

7th. Is it not probable that the enemy, if they find a force advancing into the Country which they are unequal to oppose, will destroy all the Grain and forage (as well as Mills) which cannot be removed that we may derive no benefit from them?

8th. Does Lake Champlain always freeze, so as to compel the Armed Vessels to lay up, during the Winter Season?

What port is it likely they will go into during the Frost in case of our having a Superior force in Canada at the time of it? And can these Vessels be secured against an Enterprize while they are fast in the Ice?

9th. If there should not be a co-operation by Sea, thereby preventing reinforcements to the British in the Spring; as also supplies of Provisions, Ordnance Stores, &ca., what chance is there of reducing Quebec with the Garrison that now is, or may be thrown into it?

10th. If the enemy remain in possession of so important a Post, how is the Country to be held without maintaining a force at least equal to theirs? And can this be done? or is it not more probable that we shall be obliged again to quit the Country after having incurred a heavy expence and involved our friends in inevitable ruin?

Your opinion respecting the uselessness of the British fleet in the Conquest of Quebec, drawn from the immediate surrender of that place after the battle with Montcalm and, the Investiture of it, is, in my judgment founded upon wrong principles; the true light to consider it in, I think, is this: The field was lost by the French. The Town (by Land and Water) was Invested by the English. The hope of

succour was cut off, and their resources were at an end; to what purpose therefore was opposition? But supposing the French then, or the British now to be in possession of the Works with

a sufficient, or even such a Garrison as is in it at present that they were well furnished with provision and Stores to carry them through the Winter; and knew that the River St. Lawrence was open to them; what would, or probably will, be the case under these circumstances?

It never was intended that your Regiment should continue longer upon the duty in which it is now engaged than till the opening of the Campaign. Whenever therefore the Troops quit their respective places of Cantonment, that Regiment, for aught I know to the contrary, as well as others, will be drawn into the field. I am etc.

To ARTHUR LEE

Newburgh, April 15, 1782.

Dear Sir: I have received your favor of the 2d. Instr. and thank you for the several articles of European intelligence contained in it. permit me to solicit a continuation of such advices as you may think interesting respecting the Military or political manœuvres of foreign powers.⁸³ Such communications will not only be a private gratification, but may

83. Lee's letter of April 2 (in the Washington Papers) recounted political news entirely; but he also stated, on the authority of the Governor of Virginia, that De Grasse had completely defeated the British fleet, which was the direct opposite of the fact.

produce public good; as a perfect knowledge of these matters will enable me to decide with more certainty and precision on doubtful operations which may be had in contemplation than I possibly can do without. With great esteem etc.

***To JOHN LEWIS**

Newburgh, April 17, 1782.

Dear Sir: I have heard, and sincerely lament, the death of yr. Father;⁹² and my concern is encreased by the information in your letter of the 24th Ulto. of his dying much indebted.

So far as I am interested in the Lands which he has directed, by his Will, to be sold I consent to the disposal of them on twelve Months credit. The necessity however of selling them, at this time, is to be regretted; as Lands, except such as happen to be under peculiar circumstances must sell to a disadvantage when they are not in general demand, and when there is a dearth of money, especially those which have been, and may again be exposed to the invasion of the enemy, as is

92. Col. Fielding Lewis, of Fredericksburg.

the case of the Lands purchased of Doctrs. Wright and Jones.⁹³ I mean this as a general observation, not to oppose it to the Sales you have in contempln. For I am convinced from experience, that Lands far removed from the proprietors of them, however valuable in themselves, are very unprofitable; and because I, as well as your Fathers Estate stand in need of the money which my part of them will fetch; when I say this, I take it for granted, that you do not mean to sell these Lands unless you can get the value of them, or near it; because this would not only defeat the end you have in view but do injustice to Doctr. Walker⁹⁴ and myself.

I have not a sufficient recollection of them (especially the Tracts in which Doctr. Walker holds a share) to describe any of them accurately. With respect to Norfleets, it is in No. Carolina, near the line, and upon the great road leading from Suffolk to Edenton; abt. 16 Miles from the former; which is, or was a place of very extensive trade; there ought to be (if my memory serves me) upwards of a thousand acres in the tract, for which, I think, we gave £1200 and sunk a great deal more by keeping it two or three years in our own hands. The Land is level, and I believe well timbered, capable of great improvement, there being upwds. of 400 Acres of exceeding rich and open meadow ground belonging to the Tract, a great part of which is, or was ditched, and in grass and other kinds of cultivation. The Lands purchased of Jones and Doctr. Wright lye betwn. Norfolk and Suffolk, 6 or 8 M from

93. Dr. John Jones.

94. Dr. John(?) Walker.

the latter and on or near Nansemond River. They are if I recollect right, well timbered and of good quality; level (as all the Land thereabouts is) and capable of being rendered exceedingly valuable. I do not remembr. what kind of buildings are on the last mentioned Tracts; the other (Nor fleets) had a good dwelling House and Kitchen with Brick Chimnies, and a Barn; but as it is at least ten or twelve years since I have been in that part of the Country, great changes may have taken place since. A large

slip of the Meadow land has, I am told, been taken from us; whether by legal process, or not, I am unable to say.

I have directed Mr Lund Washington to furnish you with all the Deeds and other papers which may be in my possession relating to any of these Tracts. I pray you to give my best love to my Sister and the family. My Compliments. to Mrs. Lewis and believe that I am etc.

***To BARTHOLOMEW DANDRIDGE**

Newburgh, April 20, 1782.

Dear Sir: Since my last to you from

Philadelphia I have been favoured with your Letter of the 20th. Ult. from New Kent.

How far it is proper, or improper to delay the appointment of a Guardian, or Guardians to Mr. Custis's Children I shall not take upon me to decide but this I am clear in, and beg leave again to urge it, that whenever the necessity for it arrives you should take upon yourself the trust.

I confess to you candidly that I see very little prospect of the Wars ending with this Campaign; or, if it does that I shall have leisure to engage in new matters. My own affairs will, I am convinced, be found in a very perplexed condition. All my Book Accts. Bonds &c stand as I left them (except those which have been discharged with depreciated Notes). But this is not all; matters which relate immediately to myself, is the least of my concern, unfortunately for me; I became, much against my inclination, but at the earnest request of Colo. Thos. Colville, one of his Executors to an Estate which was left under the most peculiar circumstances imaginable, as it was intricately involved with an Estate of his Brothers (who had died before him), and in Legacies to people in England; not by name, but by description and descent almost from Adam; who had given infinite trouble before I left Virginia by their claims, unsatisfactory proofs of their descent, discontents, &c. The other Executor, a Mr. West,⁷ whom it was intended by the Testator, should, and who ought to have had all the trouble, died three or four

7. John West.

years ago, and from an indolence of disposition, inattention to business, and bad accts; has, I fear, made *that* which at *best* would have been exceedingly troublesome in a great degree perplexing and difficult; so that I have not only all these difficulties to encounter, but shall think myself very

fortunate if I escape without loss. Besides this business, I stand alone in another, which is also under very peculiar circumstances; I mean my transactions under a power of attorney from Colo. Geo: Mercer and his Mortgages to Colo. Tayloe and myself; in which I disposed of his Estate to the Amt. of £14,000 payable the Novr. succeeding my leaving home, and left the business with Colo. Tayloe to finish, but this Gentn. never took one single direct or proper step in it while he was in a condition so to do, and died insane; so that, that matter stands on a most wretched and ruinous footing. Add to this, that yielding to the pressing solicitation of my Neighbour Colo. Fairfax, when he was about to leave the Country, I accepted of a power of Attorney authorising me to direct his business, which when I left Virginia, was (after selling good part of his personal Estate) left at Sixes and Sevens.

In a word, I see so many perplexing and intricate matters before me, which must be the work of time to arrange and bring to a conclusion, that It would be injurious to the Children, and madness in me, to undertake as a *principle* a trust which I could not discharge. Such aid however, as it ever

may be with me to give to the Children, especially the boy, I will afford with all my heart, and with all my Soul, and on the assurances of it you may rely.

Inclosed you have a copy of my acct. with Mr. Custis, settled by Colo. Mason as the mutual friend to us both. I have no doubt but that every Article of Debit and Credit contained in it, is right; but that there is a deficiency in the acct. is obvious from the face of it, when compared with known facts. This acct. carries with it, the *appearance* of a final settlement, comprehending all our dealings up to the date, to wit, the 28th. of June 1778; Whereas the fact is, that all articles of charge, or credit betwn. that period and the settlemt. with the Genl. Court on the 4th. of Novr. 1773 are omitted; many of which *may be* important, one I know to be so, and that is the rent of the dower Estate near Wmsburg during that Interval. This imperfection in the settler. I can only acct for by their having, (as I directed for Colo. Mason's satisfaction) recourse to certified copies of the last settled accts. as vouchers with the Genl. Court, and their not attending, or perhaps knowing of the open one on my Books by which means the whole of it is excluded. I shall write Mr. Lund Washington (by this conveyance) for a copy of the open Acct, subsequent to the date of that settled with the Court, and previous to my leaving Virginia in May 1775; as also for any Acct. which he on my behalf may have raised

since, and will send them both to you.

You also have inclosed, a Copy of Mr. Custis's Bond to, and agreement with me, at the time I relinquished all my right to and property in the Dower Estate except the Negroes under that description which I had on my Estate of Mount Vernon. At the time of Bargaining, I gave him all the Horses and impliments of Husbandry at the Plantation; but he was to pay for the stock of every kind which should be found thereon, at such rates as Colo. Bassett might affix to them; 47 of the

Cattle however he removed to his seat in Fairfax before any valuation was made; the remainder was appraised by Colo. Bassett, on the 21st. of December in that Year (1778) in the manner, and to the Amount of the inclosed list. the 47 head also included in this list, was valued the September following at the rate of £40 pr. head by Colo. Bassett, in consequence I suppose, of the depreciation; but to this Mr. Custis objected, on account he alledged of the extravagant price which by the by appeared only so in sound; however, as I wanted nothing more than the real value, and was perswaded he meant to do me justice, I wrote him that the matter might be settled in any manner consistently with these views. so the matter (I believe) has rested ever since.

Thus my dear Sir have I given you every information in my power respecting the State of my Acct. with Mr. Custis. When I get, and can

send you the Accts. which I am now writing to Mr. Lund Washington for, you will have the whole matter as fully before you as it is in my power to place it.

If the Legislature of Virga. will not put it in the power of Individuals to recover Debts, it would be extremely hard upon Mr. Custis's Heirs to have their property sold to discharge his; when there are such ample means to do it without; if they could be got at. and when, if property was to be sold on credit, there might be the same difficulty to obtain the money arising from the Sales, as there is to come at *that* wch. is already due. As the Assembly has called in all the Paper Money, it can no longer I presume be a tender; but if the case had been otherwise the mere attempt to do it is so incompatible with my ideas of common honesty, and is of so fraudulent a nature that I should have advised the refusal of it in every instance. The Articles which you propose to sell, to wit, Horses and Mares, can well be spared; for I think they contribute more to the amusement than profit of the raiser at any time, and without the latter their can be no plea for the former in the Instance before us. without the Household furniture Mrs. Custis cannot do, this therefore ought not be sold.

I had no particular reason for keeping, and handing down to his Son⁸ the Books of the late Colo. Custis, saving, that I thought it would be taking the

8. George Washington Parke Custis.

advantage of a low appraisement to make them my own property at it; and that to sell them was not an object, as they might be useful to him. how far these considerations should weigh at a time when money is wanting, you are the best judge of.

I am exceedingly glad to hear that you found your family well on your return from Fairfax, and that yr. own health was improved by the Trip. Yr. Sister⁹ joins me in the most Affecte. manr. to all Friends, and I am etc.

Memorandm.

Decr. 21st. 1778. 29 old Cattle at £12 £48— 20 Heifers and Steers at 8 160. 8 Work Steers at 120 120— 2 Bulls at 80 80 29 Calves at 50/ 72— 88 Cattle 62 Sheep at 30/ 93— 27 Hogs at £5 135— 9 Sows and 54 Piggs £81 81. 200 feet of Stacks 100 9000 bundles of fodder 90 Wheat and Oat Straw 30. 47 head of Cattle £40 1,880

9. Mrs. Martha Washington.

NB. The above is copied literally from a Paper inclosed in Colo. Bassetts Letter to me of the 8th. of Sep: 1779.

The following is Mr. Custis's list of the above 47 head of Cattle. Inclosed in his Letter of the 7th. of October 1779.

18 Young Cows, from 3 to 4 Years old Common breed and small.

1 four years old Heifer English Breed.

4 three years Do. Do.

11 two years Do. Do.

3 three years Do. Steers.

10 best Work Oxen.

47 Total.

Observations

The prices of the Articles on the other side according to the Continental Scale of depreciation will stand thus.

29. old Cattle £348 is £53—17 7 20. Heifers and Steers 160 25. 4. 7 8. Work Steers 120 18. 18. 5 2. Bulls 80 12. 12. 3 29 Calves 72—10 11. 8. 7 62 Sheep 93 14. 13. 3 27 Hogs 135 21. 5. 9 9

Sows 54 Pigs 81 12. 5. 5 200 feet of Stacks 100 15. 15. 4 9000 Bundles Fodr 90 14. 3.10 Wheat and Oat Straw 30 4. 14. 7 47 head of Cattle 1880 104. 6 7 £3189 is 309. 6. 2

***To LIEUTENANT COLONEL JOHN LAURENS**

Newburgh, April 22, 1782.

Dear Sir: I have received since my arrival at these Quarters, your favor of the 12th. of Feby. *respecting the exchange of your Honble. Father for Lord Cornwallis: I am sorry to inform you*, that upon my arrival at Philadelphia and for a long time after I had been there I experienced the greatest *disinclination in Congress to the exchange of Lord Cornwallis; upon any terms*; and that, it was not till after I had *combated their objections* in different ways, and at several meetings of their *Committees*, that I got the matter placed upon such a footing as to leave me at liberty to *negotiate the exchange of that Officer, at any rate*; *The principal difficulties* are now so far *removed*, as to admit Commissioners on each side to meet (and they are now sitting at Elizabeth Town) for the purpose of exchanges, in which Mr. Laurens's is particularly

given in charge; for settling of Accounts, &ca. and I hope, unless some untoward impediment shd. intervene in the prosecution of this business, that you will soon meet the accomplishment of your wishes.

It has been my uniform opinion since the capitulation of York Town, that unless the enemy can send such reinforcements to this Continent as will, in their judgments, place their two principal Posts of New York and Charles Town in a state of perfect security; Or, that they are sure of having a Naval superiority on this Coast, during the operations of the Campaign, that they will centre their force at one of those points. and further, it has as invariably been my opinion, that New York will be the last hold they will quit in the United States. If I am mistaken in the first, I shall believe that a Negotiation of Peace or a Truce, is near at hand and that they hazard much for the *Uti-possidetis*, which from present appearances, and my conception of the views of the British Government I have not the smallest idea of. I mean peace this Year. With the greatest truth etc.¹⁹

19. A note by Washington at the end of this letter says: "The Words, with lines drawn under them, were intended to have been wrote in Cypher but time not permitting no part was cyphered." These words are shown above in italics.

To JOHN DE NEUVILLE & SON²⁰

Head Quarters of the American Army, April 22, 1782.

Gentlemen: The very favorable sentiments you are pleased to express in your polite Letter of the 10th of August last, have added infinitely to the value of the agreeable Present you intended for me:²¹ and I wish you to be assured, that the detention of that Present by Captain Gillon,²² has not diminished my sense of the obligations I am under to you. Major Jackson²³ has explained the matter fully, and has delivered an elegant Perspective Glass calculated to be used in the day or Night time.

I entreat you will be pleased to accept my thanks for those marks of your regard, and believe me to be etc.²⁴

To SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS³⁶

Head Quarters, Newburgh, April 23, 1782.

Dear Sir: I have to acknowledge, and thank you for

20. Amsterdam merchants and agents for refitting John Paul Jones's squadron.

21. A letter press-copying machine, which was shipped with Gillon in August, 1781, and forwarded by him from Havana in March, 1782. (See Washington's letter to Commodore Alexander Gillon, June 17, 1782, *post.*)

22. Alexander Gillon, commodore, South Carolina navy.

23. Maj. William Jackson.

24. The draft is in the writing of David Humphreys.

36. Robert R. Livingston.

your favour of the 16th, which covered a Letter from the Marquis de la Fayette dated the 30th of Janry. that Letter does not contain any News of considerable moment relative to public affairs. Altho the Marquis does not pretend to speak of the plan of the Campaign; his sentiments in general appear to be, that Britain will make a desperate effort to prosecute the War, that neither N York or Charles Town will be evacuated, that France is perfectly well disposed towards the United States, that no pecuniary aid must however be expected from thence, that it is "generally thought, the exertions of America are not equal to her abilities, and that nothing could operate so much for further assistance, as pointed assurances of a good Army for the War"; great deference I think is due to his opinion, not only from his singular assiduity and sagacity in collecting and combining circumstances, but also on account of his favorable opportunities for the purpose. [he adds that the report of Cardinal de Bernis being nominated as prime Minister was mere rumour for it appeared that the King seemed disposed to be first Minister himself.]

I have little doubt, for my own part, of the Enemy's first determination to prosecute the War; but have greater hesitancy in believing that they will attempt to hold both N York and Charles Town, unless they expect to have a decided superiority on this Coast thro the Campaign, or intend to send out large reinforcements of land Troops from Europe; leaving their own defence, to the Militia and Volunteers of

Britain and Ireland.

I am not at a loss to decide what ought to be our line of policy; I wish I could say, that the States were making all the efforts, our situation demands, and which our Allies have a right to expect from us. My endeavour to excite that spirit of exertion has not been wanting; My addresses to the States, since the close of last Campaign, have been importunate and incessant.

You will have many opportunities of communicating intelligence to me, which, I shall not be able to obtain thro' any other Channel; I shall be happy in a continuation of your Correspondence, and am etc.³⁷

***To SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS**

Newburgh, May 22, 1782.

Dear Sir: While the Qr Mr. is *endeavouring* to furnish the bearer (who is said to be charged with important dispatches for Congress, from France) with a fresh horse; I set down to acknowledge,

in haste, the receipt of yr. favor of the 30th. Ult; and to thank you for the information which it contains.

37. The draft is in the writing of David Humphreys.

We wanted no fresh opiate to increase that stupor into which we had fallen, but I much fear that the idle, and delusive offers of Peace with which the Country resounds, will, if it is not powerfully counteracted, be exceedingly injurious to us; not (I apprehend) from any disposition in the people to listen to improper terms, but from a misconception of what is really meant, and the arts which are used to make them believe that Independence, and what not, are proffered to them. Under these ideas they ask, why need we be taxed, or why need we be put to the expence and trouble of compleating our Battalions?

It is to be hoped, that the dispatches which are now on their passage to Congress, will announce the aids wch. are intended for us by the Court of France, as it is high time the plan of Campaign was known, which cannot be the case till we have materials to project one. Would to God there may not be too much truth in the British account (in the York Gazettes) of the advantages gained by her in the Naval Action off Gaudaloupe; it may be productive of a total derangement of the plans of the French Court, this Campaign.

If there should be any Letters for me, from the Marqs. De la Fayette under cover to you, or Congress, I shall be thankful to have them forwarded by the return of the Express, or any other safe and speedy conveyance, as I wish much, to be relieved from my present state of suspence with respect to many matters which I presume will be the subjects

of the Letters he may write. I have the honr. etc.

***To COLONEL LEWIS NICOLA**

Newburgh, May 22, 1782.

Sir: With a mixture of great surprise and astonishment I have read with attention the Sentiments you have submitted to my perusal. Be assured Sir, no occurrence in the course of the War, has given me more painful sensations than your information of there being such ideas existing in the Army as you have expressed, and I must view with abhorrence, and reprehend with severity. For the present, the communicatn. of them will rest in my own bosom, unless some further' agitation of the matter, shall make a disclosure necessary.

I am much at a loss to conceive what part of my conduct could have given encouragement to an address which to me seems big with the greatest mischiefs that can befall my Country. If I am not deceived in the knowledge of myself, you could not have found a person

to whom your schemes are more disagreeable; at the same time in justice to my own feelings I must add, that no Man possesses a more sincere wish to see ample justice done to the Army than I do, and as far as my powers and influence, in a constitutional way extend, they shall be employed to the utmost of my abilities to effect it, should there be any occasion. Let me conjure you then, if you have any regard for your Country, concern for yourself or posterity, or respect for me, to banish these thoughts from your Mind, and never communicate, as from yourself, or any one else, a sentiment of the like Nature.⁸¹ With esteem I am.⁸²

***To SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS**

Newburgh, June 5, 1782.

Dear Sir: I was honoured with your favor of the 27th. Ult. by the last Post. The extract from the

81. The above letter is the answer to Nicola's letter of May 22, 1782, from Fishkill, which inclosed an unsigned, 7-page document, in the writing of Nicola, which, after discussing the plight of the Army, its hardships, lack of pay, suffering, etc., entered into a discussion of the various forms of government, the inefficiency of Congress and then proposed a "scheme" for obtaining the just dues of the Army. "This war must have shewn to all, but to military men in particular the weakness of republicks, and the exertions the army has been able to make by being under a proper head ... it will, I believe, be uncontroverted that the same abilities which have led us, through difficulties apparently unsurmountable by human power, to victory and glory, those qualities that have merited and obtained the universal esteem and veneration of an army, would be most likely to conduct and direct us in the smoother paths of peace. Some people have so connected the ideas of tyranny and monarchy as to find it very difficult to separate them, it may therefore be requisite to give the head of such a constitution as I propose, some title apparently more moderate, but if all other things are once adjusted I believe strong arguments might be produced for admitting the title of king, which I conceive would be attended with some material advantage. ... Republican bigots will certainly consider my opinions as heterodox, and the maintainer thereof as meriting fire and fagots, I have therefore hitherto kept them within my own breast. By freely communicating them to your Excellency I am persuaded I run no risk, and that, tho disapproved of, I need not apprehend their

ever being disclosed to my prejudice." This document and its forwarding letter are in the *Washington Papers*.

Nicola's agitation at receiving Washington's rebuke was such that he wrote three times (May 23, 24, and 28, which letters are in the *Washington Papers*) to the Commander in Chief, apologizing for making the suggestion. These letters are manly compositions, indicative of the relations subsisting between Washington and his officers. In the letter of May 24 Nicola said: "I solemnly assure your Excellency that I have neither been the broacher, or in any shape the encourager of the design [for the army] not to sepearate at the peace 'till all grievances are redressed, but have often heard it mentioned either directly or by hints."

82. At the close of this draft the following note, also in the writing of Washington, is added: "The foregoing is an exact Copy of a Letter which we Sealed and sent off to Colonel Nichola at the request of the writer of it. D. Humphreys Aid. de. Camp. Jona. Trumbull, Junr. Secty."

Marqs. la Fayette's letter (which you were so obliging as to inclose) is in substance, the same as the one he has written to me himself; on some points he is more particular in his letter to you, on others mine is more full; a copy of which, if I had a Cypher established with you, I should have sent; but am affraid to entrust it without, either to the Mail, or a common Express.

What may be the real intention of the present Ministry, respecting America, or what effect the Naval action in the West Indies may have upon the intended operations of this year; and consequently upon the conduct of the Powers at War, is difficult to say. there is however one plain line chalked out for us; by pursuing which, we cannot err; and it gives me pleasure to hear that Congress are inculcating this by a deputation from their own Body.⁴⁴ If Rodney's⁴⁵ victory is as decisive and important as the New York Gazettes endeavour to make it; and the New Ministry should not be too much buoyed up by it; there is no measure so likely to produce a speedy termination of the *War*, as vigorous preparations for meeting the enemy in full expectation of it if they are only playing the insidious game. This will make them think of Peace in good earnest.

We had the pleasure of Mrs. Livingston's and Mrs. Montgomery's Companies a few days last Week; they left us early on Sunday Morning in perfect health.

Mrs. Washington presents her best respects

44. Livingston had written (May 27): '... on the danger which may attend a form'd belief that peace is at hand. This delusion should be combatted. ... Congress have, upon this principle, directed two

delegates to go to each of the States, in order to urge them to timely and vigorous exertions." Livingston's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

45. Vice Admiral George Brydges Rodney, Commander in Chief, British Navy in the West Indies.

to yourself and Lady, to which please to add those of Dr Sir etc.

To ARCHIBALD CARY

Head Quarters, Newburgh, June 15, 1782.

My dear Sir: I have been honored with your favor of the 25th. Ulto. Inclosing sundry resolutions of your Assembly respecting the insidious Manœuvres of the enemy, who, it is evident, cannot mean well, because they take indirect steps to obtain that, to which a plain road is opened; and every good Man is desirous of obtaining upon honourable terms.

I thank you my good Sir for the resolves wch. you did me the honr to inclose; they breathe a proper spirit, and with others of a like kind in the different Assemblies will, it is to be hoped, convince the enemy that it is both their interest and policy to be honest.⁵

I very sincerely condole with you on your late heavy loss,⁶ but he that gave has a right to take away, and it is the duty of us *all* to submit to his Will, altho' we cannot but feel the strokes we sustain.

I should have been very happy to have

5. The Virginia Assembly resolved, among other things (May 25, 1782) "that a Proposition from the Enemy for treating with any Assembly or Body of Men in America, other than the Congress of these United States is insidious and inadmissible" and "that this Assembly will not listen to any proposition nor suffer any Negotiation inconsistent with their National Faith and Federal Union." An attested copy of these resolves is in the *Washington Papers*.

6. The death of Mrs. Archibald Cary, who was Mary Randolph.

seen you while I was in Virginia, if it had been but for a moment; indeed the pleasure must have been momentary, for my hours all the while I was in that State were so occupied by the constant duties of my station that I could devote no part of them to the enjoyment of my friends which was not only mortifying to me, but, probably displeasing to some of them.

It gives me much pleasure to learn from so good authority as your pen, that the Assembly of Virginia is better composed than it has been for several years; much I think may be expected from it; the path we are to tread is certainly a plain one; the object is full in our view; but it will not come to us, we must work our way to it by proper advances and the means of doing this is Men and Money. In vain is it to expect, that our aim is to be accomplished by fond wishes for Peace, and equally ungenerous as fruitless will it be, for one State to depend upon another to bring this to pass; or if I may be allowed to speak figuratively, our Assemblies in Politics are to be compared to the Wheels of a Clock in Mechanics; the whole for the general purposes of War shd. be set in motion by the grt. Wheel (Congress) and if all will do their parts the Machine works easy; but a failure in one disorders the whole, and without the large one (wch. set the whole in motn.) nothg can be done; it is by the united wisdom and exertions of the whole, in Congress, who, I presume, do justice to all (but if they fail by being

disproportionate in the first instance it should in my opinion be sought for and remedied in the Second rather than derange the whole business of a Campaign by the delays incident to contention) that we are to depend upon. without this we are no better than a rope of Sand and are as easily broken asunder.

I write this openly, and freely to you my dear Sir, because I pant for retirement and am perswaded that an end of our warfare is not to be obtained but by vigorous exertions; the Subjugation of America so far at least as to hold it in a dependt. State is of too much importance to Great Britain to yield the palm to us whilst her resources exist, or our inactivity, want of System, or dependence upon other powers or upon one another prevail. I can truly say that the first wish of my Soul is to return speedily into the bosom of that Country which gave me birth and in the sweet enjoyment of demestick pleasures and the Company of a few friends to end my days in quiet when I shall be call'd from this Stage. With great truth and sincerity etc.

To THE SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Head Quarters, June 19, 1782.

Dear Sir: Your favor of the 12th²⁷ I was honored with last night, and not chusing to trust my Sentiments on the subject of it to paper, I communicated them freely to General Lincoln, who set off at 4 oClock this morning on his return to Philadelphia, with a request that he would convey them to you. When I am favor'd with the Cypher which you have promised me, I will convey my Opinion upon

your proposition in my own words, with my reasons for it; In the mean while I remain with every sentiment of esteem etc.²⁸

***To BARTHOLOMEW DANDRIDGE**

Head Qrs., Newburgh,⁶⁸ June 25, 1782.

Dear Sir: Mr. Lund Washington having furnished me with Copies of the Accts. with Mr. Custis, I have drawn the whole into one view and send it herewith. I could not Balle the Acct. because of the blank Articles in it; and because

27. Livingston's letter of June 12, 1782, is not now found in the *Washington Papers*.

28. The draft is in the writing of Benjamin Walker.

68. Intentionally, or inadvertently, Washington dated this Newburgh, when he had already reached Poughkeepsie on his way to Albany.

there may be, on Mr. Custis's books, some charges against me of which I have no knowledge. with regard to the first, I have it to you to extend the Sums in any manner you shall think just and reasonable. Mr. Custis complained heavily of, and objected to the valuation of the Stock &ca. as fixed by Colo. Bassett (as may appear by his Letters) and was answered, that it might be settled in any other way, as I wanted nothing but justice, and had no doubt of his being actuated by the same principle. The rate of Exchange between Stirling and Curry. I leave also to you to extend; as you know how this kind of business is regulated at this time, in Virginia; I do not. nor how much Curry. £100 Stirlg. will fetch. When you have settled these matters, and have ballanced the Acct. be so good as to transmit me the sevl. sums; that I may make the Copy of the Acct. (which I have kept by me) corrispond with the one sent, when the blanks filled up.

I perceive your unwillingness to undertake the Guardianship of Mr. Custis's Children; and tho' your reasons have weight in them, and some trouble must ensue consequent of the trust; I cannot help, once more, expressing my wish to see you vested with it. Indeed I know of no other in whom it can be placed with any degree of propriety; or whose situation and proximity to the Estate, and General Court, will enable him, or them to discharge the duties required with more convenience and ease. When the business of the

Administration is closed, the principal trouble will be to settle annual Accts., and provide a good Steward; the last of which must, situated as the Estate is, be under your immediate eye. the advantage of which, every person who has had any thing to do with Overseers, and Plantations at a distance, must be amply convinced of.

If your conjectures of Posey be true, it will be an unfortunate circumstance indeed; and I confess, there is but too much reason to apprehend it. I conceived a bad opinion of him from the agreement I heard he had made with Mr. Custis; and it was encreased, when I came to talk with him on the subject, in my way up.

I am clearly in sentiment with you respecting the propriety of removing the Negroes and Renting the Eastern shore Estate till the Heir comes of Age; but till peace and tranquility is restored, I think it had best be rented from year to year *only* . With respect to the Annual value of it I can give no opinion; but should conceive the best mode of renting it high, will be to advertise it, not only in the Public Gazettes of Virginia and Maryland, but at the Court House of the County it is in, and the one next adjacent; desiring all Persons who incline to rent, to give in His or her proposals before a certain day, on which it will be let to those who have made the best offer previous to it.

It gives me much pleasure to hear that

you, family and friends are well; pray offer my best respect to them in wch. your Sister joins, and believe me to be etc.

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL JOHN LAURENS

Head Quarters, July 10, 1782.

My Dr. Sir: The last Post brought me your Letter of the 19 May. I must confess that I am not at all astonished at the failure of your Plan. That spirit of Freedom which at the commencement of this contest would have gladly sacrificed every thing to the attainment of its object has long since subsided, and every selfish Passion has taken its place; it is not the public but the private Interest which influences the generality of Mankind nor can the Americans any longer boast an exception; under these circumstances it would rather have been surprizing if you had succeeded nor will you I fear succeed better in Georgia.¹⁷

In the present moment there is very little prospect of the Campaign being much more Active in this quarter than in yours; however little can be positively determined on, till we have some advices from Europe, which I am anxiously

17. In his scheme of raising a regiment of Negro slaves in South Carolina.

waiting for, when they arrive I shall be better able to tell you what we may expect.

[Sir Guy Carleton is using every art to sooth and lull our people into a state of security. Adml. Digby is Capturing all our Vessels, and suffocating all our Seamen who will not enlist into the Service of His Britanic Majesty as fast as possible in Prison Ships. And Haldiman (with his Savage Allies) is scalping and burning the Frontiers. Such is the line of Conduct pursued by the different Commanders, and such their politics. You have my best wishes always, being sincerely. Yrs. etc.]¹⁸

***To LIEUTENANT COLONEL TENCH TILGHMAN**

Head Qrs., Newburgh, July 10, 1782.¹⁹

My dear Sir: 'Till your Letter of the 28th. Ult. (which is the first from you, and the only direct acct. of you, since we parted at Philadelphia) arrived, we have had various conjectures about you. Some thought you were dead, others that you were *Married*, and all that you had *forgot* us. Your Letter is not a more evident contradiction of the first and last of these suppositions, than it is a tacit confirmation of the Second; and as none can wish you greater Success in

18. The draft is in the writing of Benjamin Walker. The part in brackets is in the writing of Washington.

19. Ford dates this letter July 9, 1782.

On July 10 Washington ordered Colonel Sheldon, or the officer commanding the Second Light Dragoons, to hold them in readiness to march to the Army on the shortest notice. This draft is in the *Washington Papers*.

the prosecution of this, if it is the plan you are upon than I do; so believe me sincere, when I request you to take your own time to accomplish it, or any other business you may have on hand. at the same time permit me to assure you, that you have no friend that wishes more to see you than I do.

I have been in constant expectation ever since my arrival at this place of a Summons to meet Count Rochambeau at Philadelphia, to settle a plan for the ensuing Campaign. The nonarrival of the dispatches from his Court has hitherto prevented it. but the absolute necessity (to avoid delay after they do arrive) has induced me to propose a Meeting at all events; that we may settle such hypothetical plans as will facilitate our operations without waiting for this meeting afterwards. I shall know the result of this proposition in the course of a few days, as my dispatches left this the 24th. Ulto.

We have nothing New in this Quarter. Sir Guy, gives strong assurances of the pacific disposition of his most gracious Majesty, by Land. Sir (that is to be) Digby, gives proofs, if he is deficient in assurances, of his Most gracious Majestys good intention of capturing every thing that floats on the face of the Waters; and of his humane design of suffocating all those who are taken thereon, in Prison Ships, who will not engage in his Service. To an American whose genius is not susceptible of refined Ideas, there would appear some little inconsistency in all this; but to the enlarged and comprehensive

Mind of a Briton, these things are perfectly reconcilable. But whether they are right, or whether they are wrong time will determine.

I am just returned from a visit to our Northern Posts; in which Albany, Schenectady, Saratoga, the Cohoes, and the Fields of Burgoyne were visited.

Mrs. Washington, who sets out this day for Mount Vernon, thanks you for your kind recollection of her, and wishes you as I do, as much happiness as you can do yourself. I am etc.

***To MRS. RICHARD STOCKTON⁴³**

Philadelphia, July 22, 1782.

Madam: Your favor of the 17th. conveying to me your Pastoral on the subject of Lord Cornwallis's⁴⁴ Capture, has given me great satisfaction.

Had you known the pleasure that it would have communicated, I flatter myself your diffidence would not have delayed it to this time.

Amidst all the compliments. which have

43. Annis Boudinot Stockton.

44. Neither Mrs. Stockton's letter nor her pastoral are now found in the *Washington Papers*.

On July 22 Washington wrote to Capt. Bartholomew von Heer to send a sergeant and 12 of his best men to Easton, Pa.; and to march the remainder of the Maréchaussée corps to the Army. This draft is in the *Washington Papers*.

been made on this occasion, be assured Madam, that the agreeable manner, and the very pleasing Sentiments in which yours is conveyed, have affected my Mind with the most lively sensations of Joy and satisfaction.

This Address from a person of your refined taste, and elegance of expression, affords a pleasure beyond my powers of utterance; and I have only to lament, that the Hero of your Pastoral, is not more deserving of your Pen; but the circumstance, shall be placed among the happiest events of my life. I have the honor etc.

[H.S.P.]

***To LIEUTENANT WILLIAM COLFAX**

Head Quarters, August 4, 1782.

Sir: I want an acct. of all expenditures, from the time we arrived at this place, till the first day of this Month. Also of every thing drawn from the Contractors during that period.

I likewise desire, to have an acct. of every thing else which may have been had from other Quarters, if any there be; As well Provision, Liquors, and Stores, as necessaries from the Quarter Master; these as before, from our arrival at this place till the first Instt.

After this it is my wish to have regular accts. of a like nature, the first day of every month; of the expenditures, and draughts of the preceeding Month. I am etc.

***To GOUVERNEUR MORRIS**

Head Qrs. Newburgh, August 7, 1782.

Dear Sir: I asserted pretty roundly to you, but not more confidently than it was asserted to me, that General Dalrymple had Sailed for England.

Since my return to this place I have seen a letter from him to Genl. Knox which, at the same time that it contradicts both assertions, announces his speedy departure for the Albion shore. If he should remain in New York after this, charge it to his acct., not mine, and give me credit for the ingenuity of my recantation.

Present me respectfully to Mrs. Morris

and Kitty Livingston, to Mr. Morris¹⁶ also. It is unnecessary to assure you, how much I am etc.

***To COMTE DE CUSTINE-SARRECK**

Head Qrs. Newburgh, August 7, 1782.

Sir: Mrs. Washington, in a letter which I have just received from her, expresses her sensibility at your polite attention in calling upon her at Mount Vernon. She informs me also of the obligation you have laid me under, in a present of elegant China,¹⁷ which, as the product of your own Estate, I shall consider as of inestimable value knowing, as I do, the favourable Sentiments which accompanied it.

I have the honr. etc.

***To JOHN PRICE POSEY**

Head Qrs. Newburgh, August 7, 1782.

Sir: With a mixture of surprize, concern, and even

16. Lewis Morris (1726–1798).

17. A cup and saucer of this china set is now at Mount Vernon.

horror; have I heard of your treatment of the deceased Mr. Custis; in the abuse, and misapplication of the Estate which he had committed, with much confidence I am sure, and I believe personal regard, to your management.

If what I have heard, or the half of it be true, you must not only be lost to the feelings of virtue, honor and common honesty; but you must have suffered an unwarrantable thirst of gain to lead you into errors which are so pregnant with folly and indiscretion, as to render you a mark for every mans arrow to level at. Can you suppose Sir, that a Manager, can dissipate his Employers Estate with impunity? That there are not Laws in every free Country by which justice is to be obtained? or, that the Heirs of Mr. Custis will not find friends who will pursue you to the end of the Earth in order to come at it? If you do, you are proceeding upon exceedingly mistaken principles. but, for a moment only let us suppose that you have taken the advantage of an unsuspecting friend; for such I am sure Mr. Custis was *to you* . and, that you have acted so covertly, as to elude the Law; do you believe that in the hours of cool reflection, in the moment perhaps, when you shall find that ill-gotten pelf can no longer avail you; that your conscience will not smite you severely for such complicated inequity as arises not only from acts of injustice, but the horrors of ingratitude; in abusing the confidence of a man

who supposed you incapable of deceiving him, and who was willing, and I believe did, in a great degree, commit his whole property to your care?

But this by the by, I do not mean to put this matter upon the footing of Conscience. Conscience, must have been kicked out of doors before you could have proceeded to the length of selling another Mans Negros for your own emolument and this too after having applied the greatest part, or the whole of the profits of his Estate to your own benefit. Conscience again seldom comes to a Mans aid while he is in the zenith of health, and revelling in pomp and luxury upon ill gotten spoils; it is generally the *last* act of his life and comes too late to be of much service to others here, or to himself hereafter. But Sir, the footing I expect to see you put this matter upon, is, to settle without delay, such Accts. with the Administrator of Mr. Custis's Estate, whose duty it is to have it done, as you can support by authentic vouchers. That you will show by what authority you have sold any of his Negros, and to what purposes the money has been applied. and lastly, what Crops you have made, what Stocks you have raisd and how they have been disposed of. A settlement of this kind, altho' it should appear by it, that you have applied the greatest part, or even the whole of the money arising fm. the sales of them to your own purposes, will be the next best thing to never having committed the wrong.

How far Mr. Dandridge, as an Administrator, may chuse to push matters, I cannot undertake (never having heard from him on the subject) to say. but this you may *rely on*, that this affair shall be most critically investigated, and probed to the bottom; let the trouble and cost of doing it be what it may; as a Man therefore who wishes for your own sake as well as that of an injurd family to see you act properly, I advise, and warn you of the consequences of a contrary conduct, being Sir Yr. etc.

***To CHEVALIER DE CHASTELLUX**

Head Qrs. Newburgh, August 10, 1782.

My dear Chevr: I love and thank you for the Sentiments contained in your letter of the 5th.²⁸ I look forward with pleasure, to the epocha which will place us as conveniently in one Camp, as we are congenial in our sentiments. I shall embrace you when it happens with the warmth of perfect friendship.

My time, during my Winters residence in Philadelphia, was unusually (for me) divided between parties of pleasure, and parties of business. The first, nearly of a sameness, at all times and places in this infant Country, is easily conceived; At best, is too unimportant for description. The Second, was only deversified by perplexities, and could afford no entertainment. convinced of these things myself and knowing that your intelligence with respect to foreign Affairs was better and more interesting than mine, I had no subject to address you upon; thus then do I account for my silence.

My time, since I joined the Army in this Quarter, has been occupied, principally, in providing for, disciplining, and preparing, under many embarrassments, the Troops for the Field. Cramped as we have been, and now are for the want of money, every thing moves slowly; but as this is no new case, I am not discouraged by it.

28. Not now found in the *Washington Papers*.

The enemy talk loudly, and very confidently of Peace; but whether they are in earnest, or whether it is to amuse and while away the time till they can prepare for a more vigorous prosecution of the War, time will evince; certain it is, the refugees at New York are violently convulsed by a Letter which, 'ere this, you will have seen published from Sir Guy Carleton and Adml. Digby to me, upon the subject of a general pacification and acknowledgment of the Independency of this Country.

Adieu my dear Chevr., a sincere esteem and regard bids me assure you, that with sentimts. of pure affection, I am etc.

***To JONATHAN WILLIAMS, JUNIOR²⁹**

Head Qrs., State of New York, August 10, 1782.

Sir: I have to acknowledge your favor of the 6th. of June, and to thank you for a very handsome pair of Epaulets, presented in your behalf, by Major Franks. I receive them Sir as a testimony of the favourable sentiments you have been pleased to express of me, and am particularly indebted to you for the polite manner in which they are offered.

29. Continental agent at Nantes, France.

I have the honor etc.

***To WATSON³⁰ & CASSOUL**

State of New York, August 10, 1782.

Gentn: The Masonick Ornaments which accompanied your Brotherly Address of the 23d. of the first Month, tho' elegant in themselves, were rendered more valuable by the flattering sentiments, and affectionate manner, in which they were offered.

If my endeavours to avert the evil, with which this Country was threatned, by a deliberate plan of Tyranny, should be crowned with the success that is wished; the praise is due to the *Grand Architect* of the Universe; who did not see fit to Suffer his Superstructures, and justice, to be subjected to the ambition of the princes of this World, or to the rod of oppression, in the hands of any power upon Earth.

For your affectionate Vows, permit me to be grateful; and offer mine for true Brothrs. in all parts of the World; and to assure you of the sincerity with which I am etc.

30. Elkanah Watson.

***To THE SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS**

Newburgh, August 14, 1782.

Dear Sir: Inclosed is a continuation of Mr. Morris's²⁵ furlough for two Months; at the expiration of this period, it may be well for him to consider that, the Regiment to which he belongs is now very full of Men, and that the Officers of it will think it hard especially, at a time when Congs. are discontinuing Regimental offrs. wch. can scarcely be dispensed with to perform his duty therein, while he is in the exercise of a more agreeable Civil appointment. It is necessary, for the sake of Military rule and propriety, that he should report the continuation of his Furlough to the Officer Commanding the Regiment.

*If, as the Marqs. De Vaudruil expects himself, a superior British Fleet shd. immediately follow him to this Coast,*²⁶ *it will save you the trouble of making arrangements for the purpose of employing him , to the greatest public advantage.*

'Ere this can have reached you, you will have seen the letter of Sir Guy Carleton and Adml. Digby to me, transmitted to Congress on the 5th. If this letter does not breathe a great deal of disengenuity, there is a solid basis for our Commissioners to work upon; laid

25. Ensign Lewis R. Morris, of the Second New York Regiment. He resigned in November, 1782.

26. These italicized words, and those following, are so marked in the draft to be put into cipher.

long after the News of Rodney's Victory had arrived in England. but if the present Ministry, by Independency, mean what Genl. Conway has Expressed in the House of Commons, when he moved for leave to bring in a Bill, to enable His Majesty to grant Commissions for raising Corps of Volunteers for the defence of their Coasts, during the present War; it is an evident proof that they are endeavouring to amuse the Belligerent powers; Us in particular, till they can appear with more force at Sea; for it is impossible, that they can have serious expectation of our negotiating upon those terms. and if their Land and Naval Commanders here, are intrenched in this manner, their letter will exhibit but a bad specimen of candid minds. One thing however, *is certain* , but how it came to pass, is not so well understood; and that is that their letter to me is published in New York and has spread universal consternation among the Refugees; who, actuated by different passions, or rather by the same passion in different degrees; are little better than a medley of confused, enraged,

and dejected people. Some are Swearing and some crying; while the greater part of them are almost speechless.

But how does it happen, that all our information of what is transacting in Europe, should come through indirect Channels, or from the Enemy? or does this question proceed from my unacquaintedness with facts?

Be so good, when an opportunity offers, to forward the letters which I herewith Inclose. Assure yourself,

that with much affection, and sincere attachment, I have the honor etc.

***To JAMES McHENRY**

Newburgh, August 15, 1782.

My dear Doctr: If the Commanders of the Fleets and Armies of our late *most gracious Soverign* , in America, are not guilty of more duplicity than comports with candid minds, we are now advanced to that critical and awful period when our hands are to be tried at the Arts of Negotiation.

In a Letter which I have received and transmitted to Congress, from Sir Guy Carleton and Adl. Digby, are these words. "We are acquainted, sir, by Authority, that Negotiations for a Genl. Peace have already commenced at Paris, and that Mr. Grenville is invested with full Powers to treat with all parties at War, and is now at Paris in the execution of his Commission. And we are likewise Sir, further made acquainted, that His Majesty in order to remove all obstacles to that Peace which he so ardently wishes to restore, has commanded his Ministers to direct Mr. Grenville, that

the Independency of the 13 Provinces should be proposed by him in the first instance, instead of making it a condition of a general Treaty; however, not without the highest confidence, that the Loyalists shall be restored to their possessions, or a full compensation made them for whatever confiscations may have taken place."

Here then, if these expressions are not Intrenched in Genl. Conways Speech (when he threw out the Idea of giving to America the same *kind* of Independency that they were abt. granting to Ireland) is a solid basis for our Commissioners to raise their superstructure on; and things may, and probably soon will, be brought to a speedy and happy Issue. But, if the Ministry mean no more than Genl. Conway has hinted at, 'tis plain they are only gaining time to become more formidable at Sea; to

form New Alliances, if possible; or to disunite us. Whatever may be their object, we, if wise, should push our preparations vigorously; for nothing will hasten peace more than to be in a condition for War. and if the Contest is to continue, 'tis indispensably necessary. One thing however is certain, but how it came to pass is not so well understood; and that is, that the letter of Carleton and Digby to me, has been published in New York, and has spread universal consternation among all the Tribes of Refugees; who, actuated by different passions; or the same passion in different degrees and forms, are a mere medley of confused, enraged, and dejected characters. Some it is

sd. are Swearing; others crying; while far the greater part of them are struck speechless, and do not know what to do.³⁴

Adieu; I rejoice to hear of your recovery, it is unnecessary for me to repeat to you, that I am etc.

***To JOHN MITCHELL**

Newburgh, August 15, 1782.

Dear Sir: I avail myself of your frequent friendly offers to assist me in the purchase of any little matters I may have occasion for at Philadelphia to request the favour of you to send to Alexandria for my use 200 Wt. of white, and 100 Wt. of red Lead, ground in Oil.

If the conveyance, by Water, to Alexandria is rare, or the hazard (for I do not know in what state of security Chesapeake Bay is now in) should be deemed too great to go round into Potomack, I shall, in either of these cases, as the paint is much wanted, thank you for sending it to Baltimore by the way of Christeen and Elk accompanied by a Line to Mr. Lund Washington, informing him to whose care, in that place, you have directed it, that he

34. Cf. Washington's letter to Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Aug. 14, 1782.

According to an 1879 Catalogue of Manuscripts and Relics, then at the Newburgh Headquarters, Washington wrote a brief note (Aug. 15, 1782) to Nathaniel Sackett, thanking him for a cheese.

may send for it by a Land transportation from my House.

Inclosed I send you £27.10 State money of Pensylvania wch. you will please to give me credit for at whatever it may pass in the City.

Being altogether a stranger to the prices of the Articles here required and to the Acct. as it now stands between us I can only add that I shall be always ready to discharge whatever I may fall in debt when called upon. My Compliments to Mrs. Mitchell. I am etc.

To MAJOR GENERAL BENJAMIN LINCOLN

(Private)

Head Quarters, August 18, 1782.

[My dear Sir]: I have had the pleasure of receiving your private letter of the 12th.⁵¹ I cannot but think the conduct of — respecting the release of Lord Cornwallis very extraordinary. Is it reasonable that Mr. Laurens should be at full liberty and acting as a Commissioner in Europe while Lord Cornwallis for whose liberation he pledged his own and consequently, as a public Man the honor of the States is held bound by his parole? Either disavow the propriety of Mr. Laurens's conduct and let him

51. Not now found in the *Washington Papers*.

be remanded by the British Ministry, or set Lord Cornwallis at equal liberty. I am placed in a very delicate situation; Sir Guy Carleton has given me official information of the transaction and has called for a confirmation of Mr. Laurens's act. I have referred the matter to the proper place, and I can obtain no answer. In my letters to Genl. Carleton I am obliged to be for the present silent, but I certainly must expect to hear from him again. Do my good Sir endeavour to obtain a decision upon this matter.⁵²

Your public Letter of the 12th.⁵³ covers a Resolve of the same date authorizing me to propose a meeting of Commissioners for establishing a Cartel &c. [Here again] I am somewhat embarrassed, never having yet received either the approbation or disapprobation of Congress upon the proceedings of the former Commissioners, Genl. Knox and Mr. Gouverneur Morris altho' they were transmitted so long ago as the 30th. of April last. It appears by the Report of those Gentlemen that the negotiation was principally broken off on account of the disposition which plainly appeared on the part of the British Commissioners to procure the exchange of their soldiers in our hands without settlement of accounts making any payment or giving any security for the payment of the large sum which we conceive is due. Now Congress in the Resolve of the 12th. to which I have just referred, make no reference to any former transaction but authorize me to settle a Cartel

52. In Charles Thomson's *Notes of Debates*, New York Historical Society Coils: *Rev. Papers*, I, 105, the Committee of Congress which reported on the letter from Sir Guy Carleton and Admiral Digby to General Washington recommended (August 12) that Lord Cornwallis be released "from his parole, in return for the indulgence granted to Mr. Laurens. But Mr. Rutledge, one of the Com'tt, inveighed against this with so much warmth and indignation that it was rejected with a loud and general no from every part of the house." But on June 28, previous, Benjamin Franklin had already sent to Cornwallis, from Passy, France, a release from parole, and in his letter to Livingston, June 28, 1782, in Wharton's *Diplomatic Correspondence*, vol. 5, P. 525, he states: "I see by the English Papers. that his lordship, immediately on receipt of it, appeared at court, and has taken his seat in the House of Peers, which he did not before think was warrantable."

53. In the *Washington Papers*.

"taking care that the liquidation of accounts and settlement of the Balance due for the maintainance of prisoners be provided for therein." From this, it may possibly be said, it may be inferred, that they do approve the former proceedings and mean to make the settlement of accounts a preliminary. But this is an inference only and may be a false one. And therefore I would wish you would be good enough to endeavour to find out the true meaning of the House and to procure a determination upon the former proceedings. The same Commissioners will probably be appointed upon our part, and could they be assured their former principles were thought good, they would proceed with more confidence upon a future occasion. I confess to you I have found so many difficulties thrown in the way of all former transactions of this nature, that I could ever wish Congress to be as full and explicit as possible as to the points which they would have either conceded or demanded. I would prefer that mode on many Accounts, as you may easily conceive, to unlimited powers. But what I principally now want to be assured of is whether they do or do not approve the conduct of the former Commissioners and the principles which they seemed desirous of establishing. [With much truth and affectn. I am &c.]⁵⁴

54. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. The words in brackets are in the writing of Washington.

***To REVEREND WILLIAM SMITH**

Head Quarters, Newburgh, August 18, 1782.

Revd Sir: I have had the honor to receive your favor of the 8th. Ult. by Colo. Tilghman, who arrived here abt. ten days ago, and to whom I have committed the charge of forwarding this answer.

To the Gentlemen who moved the matter, and the assembly for adopting it, I am much indebted for the honor conferred on me, by giving my name to the College at Chester. at the same time that I acknowledge the honor I feel a grateful sensibility for the manner of bestowing it; which, as it will remain a monument of their esteem, cannot but make a deep impression on my Mind; only to be increased by the flattering assurance of the lasting and extensive usefulness of the Seminary.

If the trifling sum of Fifty Guineas will be considered as an earnest of my wishes for the prosperity of this Seminary, I shall be ready to pay it to the order of the Visitors whenever it is their pleasure to call for it; it is too trifling to stand in any other point of view, nor would I wish it to do so.⁵⁵ with much pleasure should I consent to have my name enrolled among the worthy Visitors and Governors of this College, but convinced as I am, that it never

55. "I have by a resolve of the Visitors and Governors of the College, laid out your Present of *fifty* Guineas in the Purchase of an Elegant *Air-Pump* and some *optical Instruments*, as the Beginning of a Philosophical Apparatus, which we have mark'd as your Excellency's Gift to the Seminary."— *William Smith to Washington*, Dec. 23, 1782. Smith's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

will be in my power to give the attendance wch. by Law is required, my name could only be inserted to the exclusion of some other, whose abilities and proximity might enable him to become a more useful member.

When that period shall arrive when we can hail the blest return of Peace, it will add to my pleasures to see this infant Seat of learning rising into consistency, and proficiency in the Sciences under the nurturing hands of its founders. I have the honor etc.

***To JAMES McHENRY**

Verplanks point, September 12, 1782.

My dear Sir: I am pained to find by your letter of the 30th Ult., that you cannot get rid of your fever. Try change of Air; come to the Camp, anything to remove a disorder which seems to pursue you with unabating obstinacy, and may, if suffered to run on you any longer, become too powerful for

Medicine. The Army has at length taken the Field, and is Encamped at this place; waiting a junction with the

French Corps; which will, I expect, take effect in the course of this Week.³⁰

Our prospect of Peace is vanishing. The death of the Marquis of Rockingham has given a shock to the New Administration, and disordered its whole System. Fox, Burke, Lord John Cavendish Lord Heppel (and I believe others) have left it; Earl Shelburne takes the lead as first Lord of the Treasury; to which Office he was appointed by the King, in the instant the vacancy happened by the death of Lord Rockingham. This Nobleman, Lord Shelburne I mean, declares that, the Sun of Great Britain will set, the moment American Independency is acknowledged, and that no Man has ever heard him give an assent to the measure. On the other hand, the Duke of Richmond asserts, that the Ministry, of which Lord Shelburne is one, came into Office pledged to each other, and upon the Express condition that America should be declared Independent, that he will watch him; and the moment he finds him departing therefrom, he will quit Administration, and give it every opposition in his power. That the King will push the War as long as the Nation will find Men or Money, admits not of a doubt in my mind. The whole tenor of his conduct, as well as his last Proroguing Speech on the 11th of July, plainly indicate it; and shews in a clear point of view the impolicy of relaxation on our parts. If we are wise, let us prepare for the worst; there is nothing which will so soon produce a

30. On September 13 Washington wrote a brief note of welcome to Comte de Rochambeau: "I send Colo Tilghman, one of my aides de camp, to meet and attend your Excellency to my Quarters." This draft is in the *Washington Papers*.

speedy and honorable Peace as a State of preparation for War, and we must either do this, or lay our acct. for a patched up inglorious Peace, after all the Toil, Blood, and treasure we have spent. This has been my uniform opinion, a doctrine I have endeavoured, amidst the torrent of expectation of an approaching Peace, to inculcate; the event, I am sure, will justify me in it. With much truth I am etc.

[H.L.]

To JOSEPH REED

Head Quarters, September 15, 1782.

Dear Sir: The Appeal contained in your Letter of the 11th instant, is equally unexpected and surprising.⁴⁵

Not knowing the particular Charges which are alledged against you, it is impossible for me to make a specific Reply, I can therefore only say in general Terms, that the Employments you sustained in the Year 1776, and in that period of the Year, when we experienced our greatest Distress, are a proof that you was not suspected by me of Infidelity or Want of Integrity, for had the least Suspicion of the kind reached my mind, either from Observation or Report, I should

45. Reed's letter of September 11 is not now found in the *Washington Papers*. Several pamphlets, pro and con, were published at the time and were collected and republished by J. Munsell, Albany, 1868, under the title "A reprint of the Reed and Cadwallader pamphlets? Sparks has the following note to the above letter: "Reed had become engaged in an acrid political controversy with General Cadwallader, in which it was charged that in December, 1776, he had meditated going over to the British. He asked Washington for 'a few lines expressive of your sense of my conduct in the fall and winter of 1776,' and to give his sanction to using the letters Washington had written to him at that time."

most assuredly have marked you out as a fit Object of Resentment.

While on Our retreat thro' Jersey, I remember your being sent from Newark, to the Assembly of N. Jersey then sitting, to rouse and animate them to spirited Measures for our Support; And at the same time Genl Mifflin was sent to Pennsylvania for the same purpose. This Employ was certainly a Mark of my Confidence in you at that Time.

Your Conduct, so far as it came to my immediate notice during the short period we lay on the West [bank] of the Delaware, appeared solicitous for the public Good; And your Conduct at Princetown evidenced a Spirit and Zeal, which to me appeared laudable and becomg a Man well affected to the cause we were engaged in.

It is rather a disagreeable circumstance, to have private and confidential Letters, hastily written as all mine of that Class are, upon a Supposition that they would remain between the parties only, produced as Evidence in a Matter of public Discussion; but conscious that my public and private Sentiments, are at all times alike; I shall not withhold the Letters, should you think them absolutely necessary to your Justification.

If I have in my possession any such Letter as you particularly allude to, it is not at present with me;

being in the field, perfectly light, I have divested myself of all Papers public and private, but such, of late Date, as I tho't might have occasion, in my present Situation, to refer to; the others remain at a considerable Distance from me. I am &c.⁴⁶

***To JOHN MITCHELL**

Verplanks point, September 16, 1782.

Dr. Sir: I should have answered your Letter of the 21st. ulto. before this, if a good opportunity of forwarding the Balle. due you, had presented, as I intended that both the Letter and money should go together. By the statement in your letter, there appears to be £42.0 8 due you, which I now send by Colo. Steward. Arising from the old Ballance of £3, and £48.4 for the paint, lately sent; credited by £9.3.4 State Paper. If there is any mistake you can correct it; and I could wish you to examine your former Accts. and see whether some error may not have happened in the charge of freight. Mr. Lund Washington wrote me that he had paid it to Mr Hepburn (the Person who took charge of, and carried the Oil you were so obliging as to purchase for me in the Winter, and) who assured him that the transportation (by

46. The draft is in the writing of Jonathan Trumbull, jr. The word in brackets is in the writing of Washington.

Land from Christiana to the head of Elk) and freight, had been paid by him, Hepburn. When your leizure suits be so good as to furnish me with the Acct. as it stands between us at present; permit me to thank you for the trouble I have given you in this business.

I heartily wish that the general prevailing ideas of Peace may not be injurious to us; the appearances, in my opinion, are very equivocal; but one thing we are sure of, and that is that being in a state of perfect preparation for war, is the only sure and infallible means of producing Peace.

How far the necessities of great Britain may compel her to grant unconditional Independence to this Country, I shall not take upon me to determine; but I have no doubt on my Mind of the Kings wishes to prosecute the War (in order to avert this measure) as long as the Nation will vote Men or Money to carry it on. My Compliments to Mrs. Mitchell. I am etc.

To THOMAS PAINE

Head Quarters, September 18, 1782.

Sir: I have the pleasure to acknowledge your favor of the 7th. instant, informg of your proposal to present me with fifty Copies of your last publication,⁷⁰ for the Amusement of the Army.

For this Intention you have my sincere thanks, not only on my own Acco, but for the pleasure, I doubt not, the Gentlemen of the Army will receive from the perusal of your Pamphlets.

Your Observation on the *Period of Seven Years*, as it applies itself to and affects British Minds, are ingenious, and I wish it may not fail of its Effects in the present Instance.

The Measures and the policy of the Enemy are at present in great perplexity and Embarrassment. But I have my fears, whether their Necessities (which are the only operating motive with them) are yet arrived to that point, which must drive them unavoidably into what they will esteem disagreeable and dishonourable Terms of peace; such for Instance as an absolute, unequivocal Admission of American Independence, on the Terms upon which she can accept it.

70. Probably No. XIII, of "The Crisis," which was dated May 31, 1782. It was addressed to Sir Guy Carleton and dealt with the murder of Captain Huddy and the fate of Captain Asgill. Among other things, Paine wrote:

"I fully believe we have seen our worst days over....I draw this opinion, not only from the difficulties we know they [the British] are in...but from the peculiar effect, which certain periods of time have more or less upon all Men. The British have accustomed themselves to think of the term of seven years in a manner different to other periods of time. They acquire this partly by habit, by religion, by reason and by superstition. They serve seven years apprenticeship; They elect their parliament for seven years; They punish by seven years transportation, or the duplicate, or triplicate of that term; Their leases run in the same manner; and they read that Jacob served seven years for one wife and seven years for another; and the same term likewise, extinguishes all obligations (in certain cases) of debt or matrimony; and thus, this particular period, by a variety of concurrences has obtained an influence in their minds superior to that of any ether number.

"They have now had seven years war, and are not an inch farther on the Continent than when they began. The Superstitious and the populous part will conclude that it is not to be; and the reasonable part will think they have tried an unsuccessful scheme long enough, and that it is in vain to try it any longer." Paine's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

For this Reason, added to the Obstinacy of the King, and the probable consonant principle of some of his principal Ministers, I have not so full Confidence in the Success of the present Negotiation for peace, as some Gentlemen entertain.

Should Events prove my Jealousies to be illfounded, I shall make myself happy under the Mistake, consoling myself with the Idea of havg erred on the safest Side, and enjoying with as much Satisfaction as any of my Countrymen, the pleasing Issue of our severe Contest.

The case of Capt Asgill has indeed been spun out to a great Length. But with you, I hope, that its termination will not be unfavourable to this Country. I am &c.⁷¹

***To THE SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS**

Verplanks point, September 19, 1782.

Dear Sir: I have had the pleasure of receiving your favor of the 11th. The political intelligence which we have lately had from Europe is so contradictory that little dependence can be put upon it, more especially as we have it principally thro' the channel of an Enemy's Paper,

71. The draft is in the writing of Jonathan Trumbull, jr.

which I take it for granted shews as fair a side as possible in their own favor.

Why we have nothing from our own Ministers is, as you observe, truly unaccountable. In the Parliamentary debates consequent of the death of the Marquis of Rockingham, and the resignation of Fox Burke &ca., one side assert and the other deny matters so confidently that there is no probability of forming an accurate judgment. I cannot but look upon Lord Rockingham's death however as a most unfortunate event and that, at best, the Negotiation if not broken off, will be spun out to a considerable length. This however will be soon known, for if the Ministry are seriously disposed to Peace upon such terms as we can accept their acts must soon evince it. In the mean time it will be our policy to proceed as if no negotiations were on foot.

I am extremely glad to hear from good authority that the Dutch Fleet had put to Sea. The arrival of Public Cloathing from Holland is an interesting event; as the Army is more in want of Linnen just now than of any other article, except money.

The French Troops have crossed the Hudson, and are, for the present, taking ground at Peekskill. An Embarkation, from some acct. is taking place at New York (said to consist of about 2500 Men); the intelligence is not yet clear; conjectures are uncertain

respecting the destination of them. The Men of War are Wooding and Watering. I am etc.

***To DAVID C. CLAYPOOL**

Verplanks point, September 19, 1782.

Sir: By a letter which I reced. from Mrs. Washington (at Mount Vernon) by the last Post, I am informed that the Week after I requested you to forward your Gazettes to her, she received them; but has got none since. We are both at a loss how to account for this, unless my meaning was incorrectly expressed to you. I have now to request, that your weekly publications may be sent regularly to her, by every Post. I shall see you paid for them and am Sir etc.

To THE SUPERINTENDENT OF FINANCE

Head Quarters, September 22, 1782.

Dear Sir: I am really more alarmed at the Contents of your letters of the 29th. and 30th. of Augt. and 9th. of this month, than at any occurrence which hath lately happened, and I am embarrassed with respect to one paragraph in that of the 30th. of Augt. vizt. "The other which is the principal one, that you may found a warm application on it to the states. You will I hope keep this matter intirely to yourself, you will see that I have not intrusted a view of it to my secretary or any of the Clerks." On what am I to found an application to the states but upon your information of your inability to comply with your Contracts in consequence of their tardiness in paying their Taxes? Should I proceed of my [own] accord, as it were, they will think I am stepping out of my line, and may perhaps hint to me that this reprehension would come more properly from another quarter. Untill I hear from you, I do not think myself at liberty to make use of your name. But ought we not, my dear Sir, to consider the danger of trusting a matter of so much importance, just at this moment when perhaps the enemy are balancing upon the total evacuation of these States, to a circular letter to the Legislatures. Letters of this kind

are, from their nature, as public as the prints, and seldom fail by one means or the other to get into the hands of the enemy. I have several times found personal applications by Gentlemen of

influence have much more effect than letters. Of this you will judge, and I think another matter ought immediately to be taken into most serious consideration.

If you should be of opinion that the most strenuous exertions of the states will not enable them to pay in a sufficiency of Specie to comply with the Contracts, ought not a change of measures to be resolved on without loss of time. That if we must, thro' necessity, revert to the ruinous system of Specifics, it may be done in time to lay up Magazines before the Winter sets in.

[Your letters of the dates beforementioned, not coming to my hands till yesterday, will acct. for these sentiments being with held from you so long.

I am with much esteem etc]⁹⁰

To REVEREND SAMUEL COOPER

Head Quarters, September 24, 1782.

Sir: I am favored with your Letter of the

90. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. The words in brackets are in the writing of Washington.

12th. instant, and am much obliged to you for the Transcript of Mr. Adams's Letter, which you have been so good as to communicate.

The Accounts we receive from Europe, of the Negotiations at Paris, are so various, and of such a contradictory Nature, that it is next to impossible to form any consistent Judgment upon them, or to determine what are the real Intentions of the British Nation with regard to America. Indeed, from what I have been able to collect I am disposed to believe they are not fixed in their own Cabinet.

In one Opinion however I am most firmly fixed; that in the present Situation it is our Duty to be preparing in the best manner possible for a Continuance of the War, and to exert our utmost powers to bring to a happy Conclusion, in the Way we have hitherto pursued it, a Contest in which we have so long been engaged, and in which we have so often, and conspicuously experienced, the Smiles of Heaven, and in this Circumstance, to wait the Issue of Events.

I am much indebted for your good wishes for my personal Happiness and Welfare; And am with Great Respect etc.⁸

8. The draft is in the writing of Jonathan Trumbull, jr.

***To JAMES DUANE**

Verplanks point, September 30, 1782.

Dear Sir: I shall be obliged to you, or some friend in Congress, to inform me what has been, or is like to be done, with respect to my reference of the case of Captn. Huddy?

I cannot forbear complaining of the cruel situation I now am, and oftentimes have been placed in, by the silence³¹ of Congress in matters of high importance, and which the good of Service, and my official duty, has obliged me to call upon them (as the Sovereign power of these United States) to decide. It is only in intricate and perplexing cases I have requested their orders; being always willing to bear my proportion of public embarrassments, and take a full share of responsibility, conscious; that I have treated that Honble. Body, and all their measures, with as much deference and respect as any Officer in the United States, I expected this aid.

Why then, if policy forbids a decision upon the difficult points I refer I am not to be informed of it, is beyond my conception; unless I was to ascribe it to causes which I flatter myself do not exist.

When I refer a matter to Congress, every proceeding on it, on my part, is suspended till their pleasure is transmitted; and for this it is well known I have waited with

31. At this point the draft has the following crossed out: "to call it by the softest name".

On September 30 Washington sent to the Secretary at War, "the Annual Returns of the Men engaged in the Service of the U States from each State composing the Army under my immediate Command. You will be pleased to lay them before Congress." This draft is in the *Washington Papers*.

unexampled patience. But when no notice is taken of my application. When measures, which I might otherwise adopt, are suspended. When my own feelings are wounded, and others perhaps are suffering by the delay, how is it possible for me to forbear expressing my disquietude?

The particular cause of it at this time, arises from two things; first, while, I am totally silent to *the public*, waiting the decision of Congr. on the case of Huddy, I see publications on this head (importing reflection) in one of the Pennsylvania Papers, which no man could have made, that had not access to my Official letter of the 19th. of August to Congress; and secondly, because I feel, exceedingly, for Captn. Asgill; who was designated by Lot as a victim to the Manes of Captn. Huddy. While retaliation was apparently necessary, however disagreeable in itself, I had no repugnance to the measure. but, when the end proposed by it is answered (by a disavowal of the Act, by a dissolution of the Board of Refugees). By a promise, whether with, or without meaning to comply with it, I shall not determine; that further inquisition should be made into the matter. I thought it incumbent upon me to have the sense of Congress, who had most explicitly approved, and impliedly indeed ordered retaliation to take place, before I proceeded any further in the matter. To this hour I am held in darkness.

The letter of Asgill (copy of which I inclose) and the situation of his Father which I am made acquainted with by the British prints, work too powerfully upon my humanity, not to wish that Congress would chalk a line for me to walk by in this business. To effect this is the cause of the trouble you now receive from Dr. Sir Yr. etc.

To THE SECRETARY AT WAR

Head Quarters, October 2, 1782.

My dear Sir: Painful as the task is to describe the dark side of our affairs, it some times becomes a matter of indispensable necessity. Without disguise or palliation, I will inform you candidly of the discontents which, at this moment, prevail universally throughout the Army.

The Complaint of Evils which they suppose almost remedies less are, the total want of Money, or the means of existing from One day to another, the heavy debts they have already incurred, the loss of Credit, the distress of their Families (i e such as are Married) at home, and the prospect of Poverty and Misery before them. [It is vain Sir, to suppose that Military Men will acquiesce *contently* with bare rations, when those in the Civil walk of life (unacquainted with half the hardships they endure)

are regularly paid the emoluments of Office; while the human Mind is influenced by the same passions, and have the same inclinations to indulge it cannt. be. A Military Man has the same turn to sociability as a person in Civil life; he conceives himself equally called upon to live up to his rank; and his pride is hurt when circumstans. restrain him. Only conceive then, the mortification they (even the

Genl. Officers) must suffer when they cannot invite a French Officer, a visiting friend, or travelling acquaintance to a better repast than stinking Whiskey (and not always that) and a bit of Beef without Vegetables, will afford them.]

The Officers also complain of other hardships which they think might and ought to be remedied without delay, viz, the stopping Promotions where there have been vacancy's open for a long time, the withholding Commissions from those who are justly entitled to them and have Warrants or Certificates of their Appointments from the Executive of their States, and particularly the leaving the compensation for their services, in a loose equivocal state, without ascertaining their claims upon the public, or making provision for the future payment of them.

While I premise, that tho' no one that I have seen or heard of, appears opposed to the principle of reducing the Army as circumstances may require; Yet I cannot help fearing the Result of the measure in contemplation, under present circumstances when I see such a Number of Men goaded

by a thousand stings of reflexion on the past, and of anticipation on the future, about to be turned into the World, soured by penury and what they call the ingratitude of the Public, involved in debts, without one farthing of Money to carry them home, after having spent the flower of their days [and many of them their patrimonies] in establishing the freedom and Independence of their Country, and suffered every thing human Nature is capable of enduring on this side of death; I repeat it, these irritable circumstances, without one thing to sooth their feelings, or frighten the gloomy prospects, I cannot avoid apprehending that a train of Evils will follow, of a very serious and distressing Nature. On the other hand could the Officers be placed in as good a situation as when they came into service, the contention, I am persuaded, would be not who should continue in the field, but who should retire to private life.

I wish not to heighten the shades of the picture, so far as the real life would justify me in doing, or I would give Anecdotes of patriotism and distress which have scarcely ever been paralleled, never surpassed in the history of Mankind; but you may rely upon it, the patience and long sufferance of this Army are almost exhausted, and that there never was so great a spirit of Discontent as at this instant: While in the field, I think it may be kept from breaking out into Acts of Outrage, but when we retire into Winter

Quarters (unless the Storm is previously dissipated) I cannot be at ease, respecting the consequences. It is high time for a Peace.

To you, my dear Sir, I need not be more particular in describing my Anxiety and the grounds of it. You are too well acquainted, from your own service, with the real sufferings of the Army to require

a longer detail; I will therefore only add that exclusive of the common hardships of a Military life, Our Troops have been, and still are obliged to perform more services foreign to their proper duty, without gratuity or reward, than the Soldiers of any other Army; for example, the immense labours expended [in doing the duties of Artificers] in erecting Fortifications and Military Works; the fatigue of building themselves Barracks or Huts annually; And of cutting and transporting Wood for the use of all our Posts and Garrisons, without any expence whatever to the Public.

Of this Letter, (which from the tenor of it must be considered in some degree of a private nature) you may make such use as you shall think proper. Since the principal objects of it were, by displaying the Merits, the hardships, the disposition and critical state of the Army, to give information that might eventually be useful, and to convince you with what entire confidence and esteem.³⁸ I am etc.³⁹

38. Secretary Lincoln answered this (October 14) in a private letter, which is in part as follows:

"You mention as a ground of complaint that the compensation to the Army for their services is left in a loose, equivocal state etc. Of this I am fully convinced and from the knowledge I have of the temper of Congress I have little expectation that the matter of half pay, to which I suppose you allude, will be in a better situation than it now is until it shall be recommended by Congress to the several States to provide for their own Officers which I am apprehensive will not be done unless Congress know, in some way or other, that it is the wish of the officers that they would do it.

"You know sir that no moneis can be appropriated but by the voice of nine States There were not that number in favor of half pay when the vote to grant it passed in Congress which was a vote before the confederation was signed and practiced upon but is not now. I see little probability that a sum equal to the half pay will be appropriated to that purpose and apportioned on the several States. Massachusetts is one of those States who have always been opposed to the measure indeed there is but one State east of this which agreed to it in the first place there is too great a part of the Union opposed to the haft pay to think of carrying it through, the States in the oposition cannot be coerced. They say they are willing to make a handsome compensation by compromised; that they will give a sum which shall be just and honorable from this it will be difficult if not impossible to persuade them to depart. I am my self fully in opinion that it will be much the best for the army to be referred to their several States and that their expectations will end in Chagrin and disappointment if they look for half pay from Congress. Let us for a moment reflect how Congress will avail themselves of money to discharge this debt they cannot appropriate any part of the sum, to this use, which shall be annually apportioned on the several States, for the reasons I mentioned before there are not nine States in favor of it. Should it be said that it may be paid out of the revenue of some general tax it will not remove the objection the money arising from these general taxes must be appropriated also

if such taxes were passed no one of those proposed has yet passed and I see little probability that any of them will soon if ever."

39. The draft is in the writing of David Humphreys. The portions in brackets are in the writing of Washington.

To THE SUPERINTENDENT OF FINANCE

Head Quarters, October 2, 1782.

Dear Sir: Though it is not my wish or design to wound you with fruitless complaints, of which I know you are not the cause, and for the consequences of which you cannot be responsible, yet I have judged it expedient you should be made acquainted with the actual temper and disposition of the Army; a sketch of which is given without diminution or exaggeration (to the best of my knowledge) in the enclosed Copy of a Letter to the Secry at War. I confess it seems to me not only an act of policy but of justice, instead of irritating the Minds of our Officers and Men, to soothe and accommodate them in all their reasonable wishes and expectations so far as the circumstances will admit. I am sensible you coincide entirely in the same sentiment.

In the Store Ship, which has lately arrived from Amsterdam, I am informed (tho not thro' a proper channel) there was a considerable quantity of Linnen and Hose for Officers. These or any other Articles proper for them, I should think it would be expedient to have forwarded and delivered upon account of their pay. I have written by this conveyance to the Clothier Genl on the subject; and pressed him to use his utmost exertions to send on the Cloathing,

particularly the Soldiers shirts; respecting which, I had previously given him my sentiments; that Letter, he has probably communicated to you, for the purpose of obtaining the Means of transportation, &c.⁴² I have the honor, etc.⁴³

To MAJOR GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE

Verplanks Point, October 17, 1782.

My dear Sir: I have had the pleasure to receive a few days ago, your *private Letter* , by the same conveyance which brought your public Dispatches of the 26th and 29th of August. I seized the first safe conveyance to forward the family Letters to the care of Governor Greene.

In answer to your request, that I would give you my sentiments on the future Plans of the Enemy, I need scarcely premise, that in the present fluctuating state of British Councils and measures, it is extremely difficult to form a decisive opinion of what their real and ultimate objects are, but the enclosed Extract of a Letter from Mr John Adams will give you the most recent and satisfactory account of European affairs that we are possessed of; and for my own part, I must say, I am not in the least disappointed,

42. Morris answered (October 15): "There is no man in America more heartily disposed than I am to remove from the Army and from all others who have Claims on the Public every just Ground of Complaint. But with the Means in my Power, how is it possible? I have been obliged to submit to Cancelling one Contract and forming another at one third Advance on the former Price, for the want of a meer Trifle compared with what we had a Right to expect. I am in Advance on Credit to an Amount which you can scarcely form an Idea of altho I have declined every Expenditure not indispensable. That Part of the late arrival of Cloathing which is unfit for Soldiers Use is now, Selling to pay off Debts contracted by the Cloathing Department during my Administration. Among these Debts are twelve thousand Dollars for needle Work done by People in extreme Indigence. The Cloathing which arrived fit for Officers wear was inadequate to the Purpose of Cloathing them all. The Division must have created Confusion and raised Disputes. If this had not been the Case still it would have been liable to the Inconveniences attending partial Payments, and we should have been justly Reproached for having broken repeated Promises that no such Payments should take Place. Congress have done all in their Power to procure Money for the Army. My own Efforts I shall not dwell upon. If money is obtained that will produce Satisfaction. I am sure that nothing else will. My Credit has already been on the Brink of Ruin. If that goes, all is gone, but if it can be preserved there will in the last Necessity be some Chance of making advances on Credit to the Army as well as to others. Thus Sir you will see that I look forward as far as my distressed Situation will admit; but after all if the States cannot be prevailed on to make greater Exertions it is difficult to foresee where the Thing is to terminate." Morris's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

43. The draft is in the writing of David Humphreys.

that the Negotiations have not as yet been brought to any favourable issue, for notwithstanding all the pacific declarations of the British, it has constantly been my prevailing sentiment, the principal Design was, to gain time by lulling us into security and wasting the Campaign without making any

efforts on the land, and in the interim to augment their Naval Force and wait the chance of some fortunate Event to decide their future line of conduct. Nor can I now see any good reasons for changing my sentiment of their intention. Perhaps the British Administration may be compelled, by the perplexity and embarrassment of their affairs to wish seriously for a Peace in the course of the Winter and to act accordingly; but we may be assured that Necessity alone will produce that desirable Event, if it should take place at all.

Your observations on the situation of our Finances and public matters, accord exactly with my own. And it is a melancholy truth, that there is but too much justice, in the picture you give of the temper and disposition of the People at large and the Defects of the Confederation.

Upon a general view, therefore, of our own circumstances, and those of our Enemy, I am sorry I cannot give you my advice respecting the arrangement of your private concerns in a more definite and satisfactory manner.

Before this day, I presume the

southern States are abandoned by the Enemy, if they mean to evacuate them this season; and I cannot help remarking, if the British are once forced to relinquish all their possessions in that quarter, I do not apprehend, they will ever attempt again to occupy them and over run that Country, except some very new and unforeseen accidents should turn up, which will entirely change the whole face of affairs. And however vulnerable they might once have considered the southern States, I can by no means think, after their repeated losses and disgraces, they will resume the idea of conquering them, unless they should revive again the mad Plan of total conquest. From these considerations I should imagine your property will be as safe there as in any other part of the Continent; but as I observed before, I can scarcely form a conjecture of what they will or will not finally resolve upon. It is our business to be prepared for all Events.

Should I hear any thing respecting your friends, or any thing in which your happiness is concerned, I shall not fail to communicate it. [I pressed Mrs. Green to leave my namesake behind her; and I afterwards pressed Pettitt to Send him to Princeton, where he now is and was very well eight days ago; he is in the family of Doctr. Weatherspoon, but more particularly, I am told, under the care of a Mr. Montgomery; he is a fine boy, and I dare say with proper

attention, if he lives, will be an ornament to his Country; as his infant genius promises much from mature age.

Mrs. Washington had not, I am persuaded, received a letter from Mrs. Greene before she left my Qrs. at Newburgh in the first week of July; what she may have done since I know not: despairing of seeing my home this Winter, I am now writing to her to make her annual visit. I am very sorry to find Mrs. Greene has occasion for the Sea air; I hope it has perfectly recovered her. My best respects and most affectionate Compliments attend her. I am &c.]⁷

***To JAMES McHENRY**

Verplanks point, October 17, 1782.

My dear Sir: In a visit to the Post of Dobbs's Ferry last Saturday, I accidentally met with Majr. Lynch at that place and received from him your letter of the 30th. Ult.

In a time like this, of general uncertainty with respect to the designs of the British Court, It is

7. The draft is in the writing of David Humphreys. The part in brackets is in the writing of Washington.

not at all wonderful to find men enquiring at every corner for News; the North sends to the South, and the South to the North, to obtain it. but at present, all, I believe, are equally ignorant. My opinion of the matter is, that you could learn nothing decisive from the Cabinet⁸ itself. I have long thought, and still think, they are trying the Chapter of Accidents; and the good or ill success alone of this Campaign, will fix their Councils. If they can obtain any advantages at Sea or in the Indies, East or West no matter where, I am of opinion they will continue the War; if their affairs on the other hand stand still, or continue to retrograde, their stomachs will come to, and they will think seriously of Peace.

In a long letter I had from the Marqs. De la Fayette of the 29th. of June, nothing more could be collected than that doubts and darkness prevailed; that the business of Mr. Greenville⁹ seemed to be that of procrastination. In a word, that nothing was fixed; and that the cause of his stay was to see matters in such a train as to see his way clear before he left France.

In New York they are as impatient as us for News, expecting the August Packet to remove all their doubts; but herein they will be mistaken, as later advices than the Packet will bring, leave the Negotiations at Paris in as doubtful a state as ever. A letter which I have just received from Boston gives me the Inclosed as an extract of a letter

8. Of Great Britain.

9. Thomas Grenville.

from Mr. Adams of the 20th. of Augt. at the Hague; the Boston Gazette says the combined Fleets had left the Channel, and that the Jamaica fleet got in four days after. it also gives an Acct. of an Action in the East Indies between the French and British fleets; in wch. it is said to have been a hard fought battle, but in favor of the English. this however being the British Acct. acknowledging that Admiral Hughes¹⁰ was unable (from the shattered condn. of his Ships) to pursue, not much I think, is to be feared from it.

You will recollect the opinion I gave you upon the receipt of Carletons letter of the 2d. of Augt; subsequent events, as far as they have come to my knowledge, prove it was well founded, and I wish future ones may not evince, that to gain time, was all that the British Ministry had in view. the impolicy therefore of suffering ourselves to be lulled by expectations of Peace, because we wish it, and because it is the Interest of great Britain to hold up the idea of it will, more than probably, prove the ruin of our cause; and the disbanding of the Army; for it really appears, from the conduct of the States, that they do not conceive it necessary for the Army to receive any thing but hard knocks; to give them pay is a matter wch. has been long out of the question and we were upon the very point of trying our hand at how we could live without subsistence, as the

10. Sir Edward Hughes, vice admiral, British Navy; second in command in the East Indies.

Superintendant was no longer able to fulfill his Contract with the Victuallers of the Army, and they relinquishing it, till fortunately for us, we met with Gentn, who for an advanced price pr. Ration, have saved us from starvation, or disbandment, by giving a credit; our Horses have long been without every thing their own thriftiness could not supply.

Let any Man, who will allow reason fairplay, ask himself what must be the inevitable consequences of such policy. Have not Military Men the same feelings of those in Civil line? why then shd. the one set receive the constant wages of Service, and the other be continually without them? do the former deserve less for their watchings and toils, for enduring heat and cold, for standing in Sunshine and in Rain, and for the dangers they are continually exposed to for the sake of their Country, and by which means the Man in civil life sits quiet under his own vine and his figtree solacing himself in all the comforts, pleasures and enjoyments, of life, free and unrestrained? let impartiality answer the question. These are matters worthy of serious consideration, the patience, the fortitude, rite long and great sufferings of this Army is unexampled in History; but there is an end to all things, and I

fear we are very near one to this, which, more than probably, will oblige me to stick very close to the Troops this Winter and to try like a careful physician to prevent if

possible the disorders getting to an incurable height. I am etc.

To BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

Head Quarters, October 18, 1782.

Sir: I have been honored with two Favors of your Excellency; One presented by the Count de Segur, of the 2d. of April, the other delivered by the Prince de Broglie, of the 8th. both which were rendered doubly agreeable, by the pleasure I had in receiving them from the Hands of two such amiable and accomplished Young Gentlemen.

Independent of my Esteem for your Excellency. Be assured Sir! that my respect and Regard for the french Nation at large, to whom this Country is under so great Obligations, as well as the very favorable Impressions I have conceived for their particular Characters, will secure my warmest attention to the persons of these distinguished young Noblemen.

I am much obliged by the political Information, which you have taken the trouble to convey to me;

but feel myself much embarrassed in my Wish to make you a Return in kind. At the first of the Season, the Expectations of America were much raised, in Consequence of the Change of the British Ministry and the Measures of Parliament; but Events have shewn, that their Hopes have risen too high. The Death of the Marquis of Rockingham, the Advancement of the Earl of Shelburne, and the Delays of Negotiation, have given us very different Impressions from those we at first conceived. We now begin again to reflect upon the persevering Obstinacy of the King, the wickedness of his Ministry, and the haughty Pride of the Nation, which Ideas recall to our Minds very disagreeable prospects, and a probable Continuance of our present Trouble.

The military Operations of the Campaign, are drawing to a Close, without any very important Events, on this Side the Water, unless the Evacuation of Charlestown, which is generally expected, but not yet known to me, should take place and form a paragraph in the Page of this Years History.

The British Fleet from the West Indies, still continues in N York. I have not been able yet to decide on the Enemy's Intentions there. It is generally tho't that a detachment of their Troops will sail with

them when the fleet returns to the West Indies, where it is conjectured their Efforts for the Winter, will be prosecuted with Vigor. [I have the honr] etc.¹³

13. The draft is in the writing of Jonathan Trumbull, jr. The words in brackets are in the writing of Washington.

To VICOMTE DE NOAILLES¹⁴

Head Quarters, October 18, 1782.

Dear Sir: I have the Honor to acknowledge your favor of the 10th. May. Be assured the Receipt of that Letter afforded me much pleasure, as it gave me the Satisfaction to be informed of your Health and Welfare, as from your own Mouth.

I am happy Sir! to hear of the favors your Services in America have obtained from his Most Christian Majesty, and I most sincerely congratulate you on the pleasing Occasion.

The kind and generous Offices which your Nation have rendered to this Country, will I hope forever endear them to us, and be a Means of cementing an everlastg Friendship between France and America. I assure you, I shall ever cherish a particular Regard for your person and Character, and shall at all Times be happy in an Assurance of your Happiness and Glory. I have the Honor etc.¹⁵

14. Louis Marie, Vicomte de Noailles, mestre de camp en second, Regiment Soissonais. and brother-in-law of Lafayette.

15. The draft is in the writing of Jonathan Trumbull, jr.

To JOHN JAY

Verplanks Point, October 18, 1782.

Dr. Sir: Not having received from your Excellency, during the last Winter or summer, the acknowledgment of any Letters, except of my public Dispatches of Octr. last; I apprehend that some private Letters which I have had the pleasure of addressing to you since that time, have miscarried; I resume my Pen, therefore to repeat the thanks, which were contained in one of them for the

Wine you had the [goodness] to present me with, and to assure you that I entertain the freindly sentiments toward you, which I have ever experienced since our first acquaintance.

We have now passed another Campaign, and no very important occurrence has intervened on this side the Atlantic. The Evacuation of Charles Town was considered by Genl Greene in his last Letters to me, as an Event that would certainly take place; and from other circumstances I am induced to believe it is effected by this time. Part of the Garrison (the British Troops) will probably go to the West Indies, and the Germans to the Northward. Admiral Pigot is now in New York Harbour with 26 Heavy Ships, ready wooded and watered for Sea; but the present circumstances, 'tho

somewhat equivocal, do not indicate that New York will be abandoned this year, notwithstanding there have been many reports and conjectures of the kind some weeks ago.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil is in Boston Harbour with 12 sail of the Line [(except 3 at Portsmouth)] having unfortunately stranded and lost the Magnifique in entering that Bay; but Congress have presented to His Most Christian Majesty the Ship America of 74 Guns built at Portsmouth, and now nearly fit for Sea.

The changes of the British Ministry and the fluctuation of their Councils are the Subjects of universal speculation. We wait with patience to hear the result of the Negotiations: and not being very sanguine in our expectations, endeavour to hold ourselves prepared for every Contingency. I am certain it will afford you pleasure to know, that our Army is better Organized, disciplined, and cloathed than it has been, at any period since the commencement of the War. This you may be assured is the fact.

I shall always be happy to hear from you, especially at the present important Crisis of European Politicks; and beg you will be persuaded, I am etc.¹⁶

16. The draft is in the writing of David Humphreys. The words in brackets are in the writing of Washington.

***To MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE**

Verplanks point, October 20, 1782.

My dear Marqs: Whilst I thought there was a probability of my letters finding you in France, I continued to write to you at Paris; after that, I ceased to do so, expecting the more agreeable

pleasure of embracing you in America. Your favor of the 29th. of June, placing the time of your departure from thence on a contingency, and our latest advices from Europe, reporting that Negotiations for Peace were nearly in the same state as at the commencement of it, I shall renew my correspondence.

I approve, very highly, the motives which induced you to remain at your Court, and I am convinced Congress will do the same.

The Campaign, as you supposed has been very inactive. We formed the junction with the French Corps (whch. is now Encamped on our left, ten miles distant) the Middle of September; and have remained in perfect unison with them ever since their arrival. It may I believe with much truth be said, that a greater harmony between two Armies never subsisted than that which has prevailed between the French and American since the first junction of them last year. I had prepared a beautiful Corps for you to

command, that would not, I am convinced either in their appearance or action, have discredited any Officer, or Army what ever. It consisted of all the light Infantry of the Northern Army, to which Sheldon's Legion would have been added. But we have done nothing more than to keep a watch upon the enemy this Campaign except restraining them from detaching; which I believe has been the consequence of our junction, and lying here. A few German Troops, and Refugees have been sent to Hallifax; from thence it was supposed they were to proceed to Canada; this took place before I came into the Field, which was on the last day of August. The Cold weather puts us in mind of warm firesides; and the two Armies will seperate for this or some other purpose, in the course of a few Days. The French Army will go Easterly, we Northerly, and shall fix our Cantonments in the Vicinity of West point.

The Enemy in New York make no scruple of declaring their intention of evacuating Charles town; many Transports went from the former about a Month ago; with design, it was said, to take off the Garrison; but whether it is to be brought to the last mentioned place or carried to the West Indies is mere matter of conjecture; very probably the British Troops may go to the Latter, and the foreigners to the former. time only will shew this, as indeed it may another thing, viz: that the late changes in the

British Councils may prevent the evacuation of it at all. With respect to New York, various opinions have prevailed; some thought the speedy evacuation of it inevitable, others, that it would be delayed till the spring, while a third set, less sanguine than either of the other two, believed that nothing short of a Military force would ever free the City of them; their whole design being, to amuse the Belligerent Powers, and deceive America till they could put their Marine and other matters in a more

prosperous train for prosecuting the War; the first, it is certain were in an error, because the Troops are still at New York, but wch. of the other two may be right your knowledge from what is transacting in the European theatre enables you to judge better of than I. certain it is, the loyalists and Refugees in New York are very much alarmed, and know not what to expect; as certain it is Sir Guy Carleton holds himself in readiness to evacuate, or perform any other movement with his Army, while he endeavors assiduously in the mean while to propagate the favourable disposition of Great Britain to grant every thing America can require. Their Transports have Wooded and watered, and lay ready for any Service, so have the Ships of War, under Admiral Pigot; but I believe they are designed for the West Indies, with *part* of the Troops at New York, more than for any other purpose.

You will have heard before this Letter can reach you, of the loss of the L'Eagle; it will be

unpleasant therefore to repeat it, every body laments the misfortune, and pities poor L'Touche.²⁰ Duke Lauzun as been very sick but is now recovering fast, tho' very thin, and pale.

Poor Laurens is no more. He fell in a trifling skirmish in South Carolina, attempting to prevent the Enemy from plundering the Country of rice. Genl. Lee is also dead, he breathed his last at Philadelphia about a fortnight ago. Your Aid G W—²¹ has had an intermittant fever ever since April and by the last Accts. of him from Mount Vernon where he is, he was very low and weak.

As I despair of seeing my home this Winter I have just sent for Mrs. Washington who will think herself honored by your and Madm. La Fayette's notice. Make a tender of my best respects to her, and offer a blessing in my name to your Son, and my Godson. present me also to Counte Charlux²² and others with whom I have the honor of an Acquaintance. the Count de Noialles will have the trouble of reading a letter from me.

Adieu my dear Marqs; believe me to be, what I really am, your etc.

20. La Touche-Treville, Louis René Madeline Lavassor, Vicomte de. He was captain in the French Navy, and had been captured by the British in September.

21. Lieut. George Augustine Washington, of the Second Virginia Regiment.

22. Armand Charles Augustine, Comte de Castries de Charlus. He was colonel en second of the Regiment Saintonge, French Army.

***To DOCTOR HUGH MARTIN²³**

Verplanks point, October 20, 1782.

Sir: I have recd. and thank you for the 2 Copies of your narrative of a discovery for the cure of Cancers; one of which agreeably to your request I have transmitted to Mrs. Washington. The discovery is as beneficial to Mankind as it wd. be regretted by them if the Secret, being only known to one man, should die with him. I am etc.

***To REVEREND WILLIAM GORDON**

Verplanks point, October 23, 1782.

Dear Sir: I have been honored with your favor of the 2d. Instt. and thank you for the extract of Mr. Adams's letter.

I never was among the sanguine ones, consequently shall be less disappointed than People of that description, if our Warfare should continue. From hence (it being the opinion of some Men that our expectations have an accordance with our wishes) it may be infered that mine are for a

23. Surgeon of the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment.

prolongation of the War. But maugre this doctrine, and the opinion of others that a continuation of the War till the Powers of Congress, our political systems, and general form of Government are better established, I can say, with much truth, that there is not a Man in America that more Fervently wishes for Peace, and a return to private life than I do. Nor will any man go back to the rural and domestick enjoyments of it with more Heart felt pleasure than I shall. It is painful to me therefore to accompany this declaration with an opinion that while the present King can maintain the influence of his Crown, and extort Men and Money from his Subjects, so long will the principles by which he is governed push him on in his present wild career. The late change in his Ministry is an evidence of this; and other changes which I suspect will soon take place, will convince us, I fear, of the falacy of our hopes.

It appears to me impracticable for the best Historiographer living, to write a full and correct history of the present revolution who has not free access to the Archives of Congress, those of Individual

States, the Papers of the Commander in Chief, and Commanding Officers of separate departments. Mine, while the War continues, I consider as a species of Public property, sacred in my hands; and of little Service to any Historian who has not that general information which is only to be derived with exactitude from the

sources I have mentioned. When Congress then shall open their registers, and say it is proper for the Servants of the public to do so, it will give me much pleasure to afford all the Aid to your labors and laudable undertaking which my Papers can give; 'till one of those periods arrive I do not think myself justified in suffering an inspection of, and any extracts to be taken from my Records.

You will please to accept my sincere and grateful thanks for the kind wishes, and generous Sentiments you express for me. My best respects to Mrs. Gordon. I am etc.

***To JAMES McHENRY**

Verplanks point, October 23, 1782.³²

My dear Sir: I am pained because I cannot answer the expectation and request of your letter of the 10th. Instr., which only came to my hands on Sunday by the Post, to your satisfaction. To make such an application as you require to the Financier, would, I know, be unavailing, first, because he has most decidedly, refused to adjust, and

32. The draft, also in the writing of Washington and in the *Washington Papers*, is dated Oct. 24, 1782.

discharge the claim of any Officer who is a resident in, and the subject of the United States; and secondly, every other consideration apart, what would alone be a sufficient bar; because he has not the means of doing it. The States are so tardy in collecting the Taxes, that the most trivial sum cannot be obtained for the most pressing purposes; and in one sense it may be said, that the officers of the Army are actually starving for want of a small portion of their pay; the Horses of it, for want of money to procure forage, are actually in this condition. In a word Sir, for want of a little money to pay the transportation of some very essential Articles, the Troops have suffered, and continue to suffer amazingly; and for want of this said money, we have been obliged to relinquish a Contract for subsisting the Army at 10d a Ration and give 13d. for the sake of three Months credit.

There have been instances I know, where same foreign Officers, who had no State to resort, and who were reduced to the last extremity, having received a small part of their pay, but trifling in comparison of their demands, or dues.

Judge ye therefore under these circumstances, how fruitless would be any application to the Financier for money.

The only mode I am told, by which you can be relieved, is for me to apply to Congress to recommend your case to the State of Maryland; that you may be included among the Officers belonging to it; this I have accordingly done (as you may see by the Inclosed) through its

proper channel, the Secretary at War; who is now here, and on whom I shall enforce the measure in terms which I persuade myself will give facility to an official act.

We have been at this place, Verplank's point, ever since the last day of August, and are upon the point of retiring into Winter Quarters.

The French Army (except the Legion of Lauzen) have Marched Eastward for theirs; We go Northward, to the Vicinity of West point. We have long expected to hear of the evacuation of Charles Town, as the Enemy in New York do not scruple to say it is a measure determined on; but how far a change of Men may produce a change of measures, you can judge as well of as I. No Man on this side of the Water I believe (not even Sir Guy Carleton himself) knows the result of the British Councils. My opinion of the matter is that they are yet dependant upon the events of the Campaign. You will readily infer from hence that I have no idea of a speedy evacuation of New York.

Mr. Greenville has certainly left Paris, but he is succeeded by a Mr. Fitzherbert; and the Negotiations are yet going on, but limping. I am etc.

PS. Since writing this letter I have conversed with the Secretary at War on the Subject of it who assures me there will be no difficulty at all in the way.

[H.L.]

***To JOHN MITCHELL**

Verplanks point, October 27, 1782.

Dear Sir: By Colo. Walter Stewart I sent you fourteen half Joes, which appeared by the general statement of our Acct. in your letter of the 21st of Augt. last to be about the Balle. which was due to you; since then I have received your favr. of the 19th. of Septr. inclosing an Acct. Curr. by wch (allowing the state Paper at 1 for 4) I am yet in arrears £6.9.3. which sum shall be sent to you by the first safe conveyance. I cannot help informing you however that the person or persons of whom you purchased the Paint and Oil, has imposed upon me exceedingly, as you will perceive by the following extracts from Mr. Lund Washington's Letters. "The paint sent by Colo. Mitchell is a very hard bargain, and will go but a little way in our work. It is so thin that it will pour out of the Cask; in short it requires very little Oil to make it of a proper consistency for painting. Casks of the same size which you sent me from York Town (Virginia) would go five times as far." With respect to the Oil, he says "One Tierce of the Oil which you sent from Philadelphia had at least 12 or 15 Galls. of water in it." I have no other motive for communicating this matter to you, than merely to bring you acquainted

with persons who are capable of such impositions, knowing as you do from whom they were purchased. I am perfectly satisfied you did for the best, and I have a grateful sense of the favor you conferred on me in purchasing and forwarding these things to Baltimore. My compliments. to Mrs. Mitchell. I am etc.

***To JOHN MITCHELL**

Newburgh, November 5, 1782.

Dear Sir: By Doctr Craik I send you four half Joes, £6.9.3 of which appears to be the Balle. due you, allowing the Pensa. State Paper (in yr. hands) at one for four.

I pray you to get me made by the measure inclosed a pair of the nearest and best Leather Breeches. I know not at this time who is esteemed the most celebrated Workman, or I would not trouble you in so trifling a matter. Formerly there used to be a skin called I think, the Carrabous, of which very neat Breeches were made; whether they are yet to be had I know not, nor do I know the price of Leather Breeches at this day, but if the money sent is insufficient

the deficiency shall be paid on demd.

I would beg to have them sent to me as soon as possible, and I shall thank you for reiterating my request that they may be made roomy in the seat and not tight in the thigh. They generally make them so strait that it is with difficulty they can be drawn on, to which I have an utter aversion.

the measure gives the size I would have them, not what they can be brought to by stretching. My Compliments. to Mrs. Mitchell. I am etc.

[N.Y.H.S.]

***To COLONEL TIMOTHY PICKERING**

Newburgh, November 14, 1782.

Sir: I expect Mrs. Washington now is, or soon will be, on her way to this place; I therefore put a letter to her, under cover to you; to be delivered on her arrival at Philadelphia. I perswade myself that no assistance which may be in your power to afford, either for her own, or the benefit of her Horses, will be wanting while she is in the City, or to expedite her journey to this place after she leaves it. If she should not be in Philadelphia when this Letter reaches you, and Mr. Lund Washington with her, please to put the letter to *him*

in the Post Office that it may not miss the first Mail after it gets to your hands.

I hope you found Mrs. Pickering in a less dangerous way than you expected, and that she is now in a fair way of recovery. I am etc.

***To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON**

Newburgh, November 26, 1782.

Dear Sir: Colo. Varrick delivered me your Excellency's favor of the 22d. I thank you for the trouble you have taken to obtain information on the points we conversed at our last meeting. I have done the same, and still keep the matter full in view.

That the Enemy are about to make a detachment from New York does not admit of a doubt; but to what extent, or when it will take place is more uncertain. Four Regiments (British) will, I believe, certainly go. I am etc.⁴³

43. From the *Washington Photostats* in the Library of Congress.

***To ELIAS BOUDINOT**

Newburgh, December 14, 1782.

Dr. Sir: I recollect subscribing, when I was in Philadelphia last Winter, Twenty, or 25 Guineas towards the support of the Children of the late Revd Mr. Caldwell. No person has called upon me since for this Money; I therefore take the liberty (as the Paper was in your hands) of asking you to whom I am to pay it?

Mrs. Washington who is now with me offers her Affectionate Compliments to Mrs. and Miss Boudinot, to which permit me to add those of Dr. Sir, etc.

***To COMTE DE ROCHAMBEAU**

Newburgh, December 14, 1782.

I cannot, My dear Genl., permit you to depart from this Country without repeating to you the high sense I entertain of the Services you have rendered America, by the constant attention which you have paid to the Interests

of it.

By the exact order and discipline of the Corps under your Command, and by your readiness, at all times, to give facility to every measure which the force of the Combined Armies was competent to.

To this testimony of your Public character I should be wanting to the feelings of my heart, was I not to add expressions of the happiness I have enjoyed in your private friendship. The remembrance of which, will be one of the most pleasing Circumstances of my life.

My best wishes will accompany you to France, where I³⁷ have no doubt of your meeting the Smiles and rewards of a generous Prince; and the warmest embraces of Affectionate friends.³⁸ I have the honor etc.³⁹

***To CHEVALIER DE CHASTELLUX**

Newburgh, December 14, 1782.

My dear Chevr: I felt too much to express anything, the day I parted with you; A Sense of your public Services to

37. The draft, which is also in the writing of Washington, has at this point: "sincerely hope and."

38. The draft has at this point: "Adieu."

39. From the letter sent in the *Rochambeau Papers* in the Library of Congress.

this Country, and gratitude for your private friendship, quite overcame me at the moment of our seperation, But I should be wanting to the feelings of my heart, and should do violence to my inclination, was I to suffer you to leave this Country, without the warmest assurances of an affectionate regard for your person and character.

Our good friend the Marqs. de la Fayette prepared me (long before I had the honor to see you) for those Impressions of esteem which oppertunities, and your own benevolent Mind has since improved into a deep, and lasting friendship, a friendship which neither time nor distance can ever eradicate.

I can truly say, that never in my life did I part with a Man to whom my Soul clave more sincerely than it did to you. My warmest wishes will attend you in your voyage across the Atlantic; to the rewards of a generous Prince, the Arms of Affectionate friends, and be assured that it will be one of my highest gratifications to keep up a regular intercourse with you by Letter.

I regret exceedingly, that our circumstances should withdraw you from this Country before the final accomplishment of that Independence and Peace which the Arms of our good Ally has assisted in placing before us in so agreeable a point of view. Nothing would give me more pleasure than to accompany you in a tour

through the Continent of North America at the close of the War, in search of the National curiosities with which it abounds, and to view the foundation of a rising Empire. I have the honr etc.

***To JOSEPH JONES**

Newburgh, December 14, 1782.

Dear Sir: In the course of a few days Congress will, I expect, receive an Address from the Army on the subject of their grievances.⁴¹

This Address, tho' couched in very respectful terms, is one of those things which tho' unpleasing is just now unavoidable; for I was very apprehensive once, that matters would have taken a more unfavourable turn, from the variety of discontents which prevailed at this time.

The temper of the Army is much soured, and has become more irritable than at any period since the commencement of the War. This consideration alone, prevented me (for every thing else seemed to be in a state of inactivity and almost tranquility) from requesting leave to spend this Winter in Virginia, that I might give some attention to my long neglected private concerns.

41. This "Address and Petition." dated December, 1782, from "Cantonments, Hudson's River," is signed by the ranking officers of all the line troops. It was, apparently, received by Congress, January 6, and read that same day, though no notice of it appears in the *Journals of the Continental Congress*. It was referred to a grand committee of one member from each State, and Charles Thomson has indorsed on the petition "to meet this afternoon at 6 o'Clock." (See *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Jan. 25, 1783.) The "Address and Petition" is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, no. 42, vol. 6, fol. 61.

The dissatisfactions of the Army had arisen to a great and alarming height, and combinations among the Officers to resign, at given periods in a body, were beginning to take place when by some address and management their resolutions have been converted into the form in which they will now appear before Congress. What that Honble. Body can, or will do in the matter, does not belong to me to determine; but policy, in my opinion, should dictate soothing measures; as it is an uncontrovertible fact, that no part of the community has undergone equal hardships, and borne them with the same patience and fortitude, that the Army has done.

Hitherto the Officers have stood between the lower order of the Soldiery and the public. and in more instances than one, at the hazard of their lives, have quelled very dangerous mutinies. But if their discontents should be suffered to rise equally high, I know not what the consequences may be.

The spirit of enthusiasm, which overcame every thing at first, is now done away; it is idle therefore to expect more from Military men, than from those discharging the Civil departments of Government. If both were to fare equally alike with respect to the emoluments of Office, I would answer for it that the Military character should not be the first to complain. But it is an

invidious distinction, and one that will not stand the test of reason or policy, the one set should receive all, and the other no part (or that wch. is next to it) of their pay. In a word, the experiment is dangerous, and if it succeeded would only prove that, the one is actuated by more Zeal than the other, not that they have less occasion for their money.⁴² I am etc.

***To MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE**

Newburgh, December 15, 1782.

My dear Marqs.: In my last of the 20th. of Octobr I informed you that the Armies were about quitting the field, and that the French Troops were going to the Eastward, they have since embarked at Boston (except the Legion of Lauzern which is at Burlington), for the West Indies; and by a Letter which I have recd. from the Marqs. de Vaudrueil, will sail about the 20th. Instt.⁴⁴

The Count de Rochambeau, to whose care I commit this Letter; The Chevalr. Chartellux, Genl. de Beville and several other French Gentlemen have passed

42. Jones did not answer this letter, on account of illness, until Feb. 17, 1783. Then, after a long discussion of the efforts of Congress to raise money, the failure of the States to furnish it and a mention of the impost duty, he wrote: "Congress have the purest intentions towards the public Creditors...such is their opinion of the merit and services of the Army that did it not wound the sense of justice, they want not the inclination to give them the preference to any other class of Creditors but equity and sound policy forbid discrimination and partial distinctions. One ground of discontent in the Army, and on which they found the opinion, that justice is not intended to be done to them, is the delay in complying with their requests: but with those acquainted with the deliberations of public bodies, and especially of so mixed a Body as that of Congress, allowance will be made for slow determination. Every class of public Creditors must know tire inability of Congress to pay their demands, unless furnished with the means by the several States, and the exertions of that body have not been wanting, heretofore. to obtain the means though they have not produced the desired effect...Reports are freely circulated here that there are dangerous combinations in the Army, and within a few days past it has been said, they are about to declare, they will not disband until their demands are complied with. I trust these reports are not well founded, and that the Army will exercise awhile longer at least, that patient forbearance, which has hitherto so honourably distinguished them; to you it must be unnecessary to observe, that when once all confidence between the civil and military authority is lost, by intemperate conduct or an assumption

of improper power, especially by the military body, the Rubicon is passed and to retreat will be very difficult, from the fears and jealousies that will unavoidably subsist between the two bodies. to avoid therefore the adoption by the Army of any such rash measure, should employ the attention, and draw forth the exertions of every worthy officer in it; for from these alone can opposition be expected. The Ambitions of some and the pressure of distress in others, may produce dangerous combinations founded on the pretense that justice is delayed, and will be refused to them; the pretext is plausible and ensnaring, and may draw into engagements the unsuspecting honest Soldier, from which it will be difficult to extricate himself, even when he sees the dangers they lead to. If there are Men in the Army who harbour wicked designs, and are determined to blow the coals of discord, they will gradually endeavour to hurt the Reputation of those, averse to their projects, and by sinister practices lessen their weight and influence among the Soldiery. I have lately heard there are those who are abandoned enough to use their arts to lessen your popularity [Washington has here interlined the word "reputation"] in the Arms' in hopes ultimately the weight of your opposition will prove no obstacle to their ambitious designs. If this be true, and they are likely to succeed, I own it will prove a bad prognostic of the future and I shall be among the number of those who entertain fear of the Army, and doubt that peace will not be followed by its usual blessings to America. Whether to temporize, or oppose with steady unremitting firmness, what is supposed to be in agitation of dangerous tendency, or that may be agitated, must be left to your own sense of propriety, and better judgment." Jones's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

44. The fleet sailed from Boston harbor on December 24.

this on their rout to Philadelphia, where, or in the Chesapeake, they mean to Embark for France. I should do injustice to the feelings of my heart, was I to suffer such characters to depart from this Country without carrying with them that testimony of my gratitude and friendship which Men of their Merit and Services are entitled to from every individual of it.

I could not have bid a Brother farewell with more regret than I did the Chevr. Chartellux, than whom no Man stands higher in my estimation.

Our Summer was inactive, and more than probably, the Winter will be tranquil. Our eyes are turned towards the Negotiators at the Court of Versailles; but we are not so sanguine to expect any thing conclusive 'till the meeting of the British Parliament; by which time it is presumed that Lord Shelburn will be able to know on what ground he stands, and will govern himself accordingly.

Charles Town was not evacuated on the 22d. of last Month, but every thing was in a state of preparation for the event. Some Provencial Corps had been sent to St. Augustine, and the 4th. Battn. of the Royal Americans withdrawn from that Fortress; the prevailing reports and opinions are, that

the British Troops at Charles Town will go to the West Indies, and the Foreigners to Hallifax. The British Fleet has left the harbr. of New York,

the first division of it consisting of 13 Ships of the line, and several frigates, under the orders of Lord Hood (who had on board the Prince, William Henry) Sailed from Sandy hook the 26th. of October; the Second division commanded by Admiral Pigot consisting of an equal number of Ships of the line left the Harbour the 22d. of last Month; since which neither has been heard of. Admiral Digby with two Fifties and some frigates, compose the Naval force of the Harbour, at this time.

There has been much talk of a detachment of British Troops from New York to the West Indies, but none have embarked yet, tho' four Regiments have been under Embarkation orders near a Month. certain it is the Enemy are collecting a great number of Transports at that place, not having less, at this time, than 150 large ones in that harbour. The opinion however among the best informed in the City is, that the total evacuation of New York depends upon the determination of Parliament, to whom, add they, Lord Shelburn is resolved to submit the great question respecting the Independency of America; on the decision of which, this matter depends; but why they should delay the detachment for the West Indies, is not so easy accounted for, unless they think it unsafe to weaken the Garrison while the French Troops are in America.

Your Aid G: A: Washington, by the last Accts. I had of him, was in a very declining State of

health; supposed to be in a consumption. I have advised him to a trip to the Southward, and but for the danger of captivity wch. might prove fatal to him in his present weak state I should have recommended a voyage to the West Indies, as the Doctrs. think it might be of Service to him.

Mrs. Washington who is now here, offers her best wishes and most respectful compliments to Madam La Fayette and yourself; mine are added with great sincerity, as no Man is more warmly attached by all the ties of friendship and Affection to you than is, My dear Marqs etc.

***To BARTHOLOMEW DANDRIDGE**

Newburgh, December 18, 1782.

Dear Sir: Your favor of the 5th. of last Month came safe to my hands, at this place; in the vicinity of which the Army is cantoned.

I am fully perswaded, from all Accts. that in Posey⁶² you have to deal with a most

62. Price Posey.

consummate villain; and from your own, that you have pursued the most prudent method of managing him, and for obtaining that justice wch. is due to Mr. Custis's Estate. I am clear in Sentiment with you, that he should be removed from his present Stewardship as soon as it can be done with *any degree* of propriety; for be assured Sir that a Man so devoid of principle as he is to be guilty, not only of the barefaced frauds with which he is accused; but the abominable Sin of ingratitude, will neglect no oppertunity of converting to his own use when he can do it with impunity every species of property that is committed to his care; and will do it the more readily after his reputation will have Suffered, than before. The most hardened villain, altho' he Sins without remorse, wishes to cloak his iniquity, if possible, under specious appearances; but when character is no more, he bids defiance to the opinions of Mankind, and is under no other restraint than that of the Law, and the punishments it inflicts. Posey, I am perswaded, will be no exception to this rule; and that the sooner the Estate can be taken out of his hands the less it will suffer; as it cannot be in worse.

With respect to the valuation of the Stock, if upon an investigation of the matter, and comparing it with the Scale of depreciation as settled by Congress, it shall be found, when reduced to specie value, that the sum amounts to more than the number and kind of Cattle had of me are worth, let a just value be placed on them, and it will meet my entire

approbation. Mr. Custis, as I wrote him, was alarmed at the *nominal* , without attending to the *real* price of the Stock; for if 20 paper Dollars in those days, was valued at, and would purchase no more than one Silver D, valuing any article at £6. Currency, was neither more nor less than fixing it at a Dollar specie. If therefore the valuation of Colo. Bassett when estimated by this rule, and fixed upon this principle, is not too high, there certainly can be no cause of complaint; and upon this footing I am willing to place the matter. A Dollar in specie may be a hundred pounds according to the scale of depreciation, but if no Man will give more than Six shillings for it that sum is most certainly the intrinsic Worth of it. It never was, nor is it now my intention to put the Estate of Mr. Custis to the least inconvenience to pay the Debt it owes me. On the contrary if I ever get it at all, to receive it at such a time, and in such a manner as to occasion the least possible distress is all I aim at; therefore as it seemed to be your opinion, and it was clearly mine, that the Stud, and other Horses belonging to that Estate (which were not wanted for immediate use) had better be sold; and as I *really* wanted one, and could have made it very convenient to have taken both of his covering Horses, I directed Mr. Lund Washington to get them in discount of my Debt but, if I can obtain neither without advancing the Money as an indifferent purchaser, I shall certainly decline,

this mode of gratifying my wants, as I have no more idea of advancing money (in truth I have it not to advance) to an Estate that owes it to me, than I have of demanding it from one that cannot, with convenience pay it. If therefore you cannot let me have one of the Stud horses upon the above terms, I must not only do without *him* but any *other* as I have not the means of purchasing.

The French Army have Embarked at Boston for the West Indies; but had not Sailed when I heard last from that Quarter. Lord Howe has relieved Gibraltar. The French have taken and Destroyed the British Interest in Hudsons Bay, to the amount, it is said, of 10,000,000 of Livres. The British Fleet have left New York in two divisions and a detachment of Troops it is reported are going from that place to the West Indies; but when they will embark is uncertain. A number of Transports are collected there but I believe they are only waiting for decisive orders from their Court; which in my judgment, would not Issue till after the meeting of Parliament, when the Parties for and against the American War will try their strength. we shall then know whether we are to set down under our Vines and fig Trees in Peace, or prosecute the War.

It gives me much pleasure to hear that your good Mother, yourself Mrs. Dandridge and Family, are well. My affectionate regards are presented to them

all, in which your Sister, who arrived here the 30th. of last Month, joins. I am etc.